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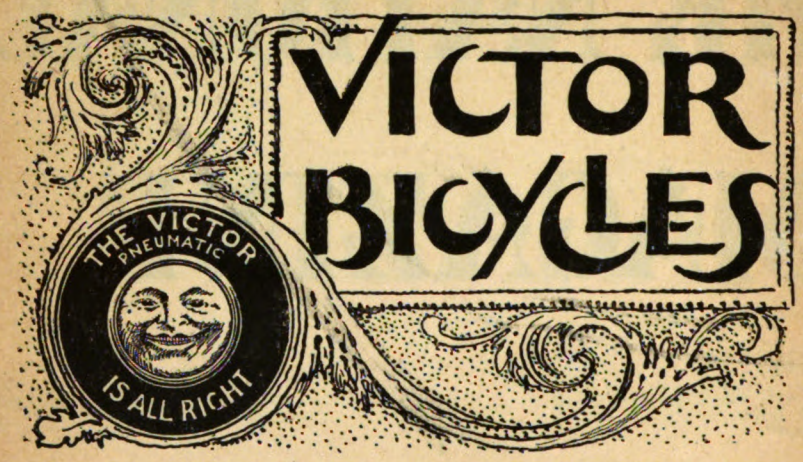

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ADMINISTRATIONS OF WILLIAM COSBY AND GEORGE CLARKE. 1732–1743.[1]

COLONIAL FOOT SOLDIER OF 1740.

NO governor seemed more acceptable to the citizens of New York than Colonel William Cosby. He had apparently shown his care for their interests by remaining in London for more than six months after his appointment to prevent the passage of the sugar bill, a measure that would have affected injuriously the colonial trade. He had succeeded in defeating it in the House of Lords. He was an officer of high rank in the army and had been governor of Minorca. He was brother-in-law to the Earl of Halifax, and had the powerful patronage of the Duke of Newcastle. The son of the Duke of Grafton was soon to marry one of his daughters; and the gay people of New York were already fond of noble names and royal lineage, however tainted or impure. Cosby, too, was popular in his manners, fond of entertaining company, and not unwilling to please. His dinners and his balls at the fort were the favorite means, his opponents said, of seducing a grand juror from his duty or winning over a hostile voter. Everything promised him a peaceful and successful rule. Several occurrences, too, tended to subdue the violence of party and unite the people. One was the fearful prevalence of the small-pox, which not long before had carried off five hundred of the inhabitants, and might at any moment return. Another was the fear of the French. The occupation of Crown Point and Ticonderoga by the French forces opened for them an easy passage to Albany and even threatened New York. It was evident that they were drawing close to the English settlements, and should war break out, as it seemed quite likely to do, might easily lead an army to the sack of the ill-defended towns. The fate of Schenectady was never forgotten by the colonists; while at any mo-

[1] From "The Memorial History of New York.

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ment a French fleet could enter New York harbor and rob it of its wealth.

As a soldier, therefore, Colonel Cosby was welcomed by the citizens as a protector and a friend. After a voyage of seven weeks from England, he arrived by way of Madeira at Sandy Hook, and landed in New York about ten in the evening of a fair August day. Several gentlemen met him at the waterside we are told, and attended him to the fort. The next morning, between eleven and twelve, he walked in state to the City Hall, a company of foot-soldiers and a troop of horse leading the way. Behind came the gentlemen of the council, the corporation, and a great number of citizens and merchants. The streets were lined on each side with soldiers. The people crowded

the sidewalks and houses along Broadway and Wall and Broad streets. At the City Hall, which stood in Wall street, at the head of Broad, the new governor read his commission, assumed his office, and then returned to the fort at the Battery, escorted as before by the military and the city officials. Here the militia drew up in line and fired three times a parting salute. It was no doubt a spectacle of rare interest and excitement to our ancestors: the military pomp, the crowded streets, the dignified procession, the governor in his uniform, seemed to give promise of future harmony and security to the rejoicing city. The house in which the governor lived was within the walls of the fort. This was a square earthwork of considerable size, lined with a stone facing inside, and mounting perhaps forty guns. It stood on the rising ground above what is now the Battery, and was, after the Revolution, converted into a government house for Washington, the first President. Then it became the residence of the governors of New York, was afterward used as a custom house, and was then taken down and the ground sold in lots for some of the finest houses in the early city. This was in 1815. They looked in front upon the Bowling Green, and were occupied by some of the wealthiest merchants of that day. But in Cosby's time the walls of the fort were no doubt rude and imperfect. A brackish well just outside, supplied it with water. Inside were a small chapel, the barracks, and also the house in which the governor and his family lived. This was a building of three stories, built of brick; it was evidently of sufficient size to entertain the large number of guests the governor was fond of asking to his parties, and from its top or the upper story was obtained a fine view of the bay and the opposite shores. A gateway opened in the wall of the fort, and over its paved walk passed the gay coaches and the crowds of the fair and the brave who were summoned to the governor's balls. Here Cosby brought his wife, his son, and his two daughters, and here passed on the four stormy years in which he essayed to govern New York.

The city and the province had not grown as rapidly as their neighbors east and south. In the second century of its existence (1730–1736) New

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York was still a small town clinging to the southern end of its island, and having a population of not more than seven or eight thousand souls. Twenty-five years later it had reached only about twelve or thirteen thousand, of whom more than two thousand were negro slaves.[1] A modern city, a Chicago, gathers its million in half a century. The growth of New York was so slow in the first hundred years or more from Stuyvesant to the Revolution, that it had added to its population only at the rate of perhaps one hundred and fifty annually. The province was equally slow in its progress. Immigrants turned away from it to seek the rich fields of Pennsylvania, and the rising settlements of New Jersey. Connecticut, the historian Smith complains, in 1756 had already a population of one hundred and thirty-three thousand, while in all New York there were scarcely one hundred thousand. Yet there were richer lands along the Hudson than any the east could boast of, and the fair and mighty river gave advantages to the New York farmer that Pennsylvania and the interior of New Jersey could never afford. The historian attributes this slow growth to the unwise policy of England. The common punishment of English criminals was to be banished to the colonies. Here came the thieves, homicides, and all the disreputable part of the population of the mother-country. New York was a Botany Bay, and the honest emigrant refused to come to a land where he must consort with the vile and the infamous. Many of these criminals were sold as bond-slaves. The newspapers have frequent advertisements of Welsh and English slaves for sale, as well as negroes. Here is one in the "New York Gazette," September 11, 1732: "Just arrived from Great Britain, and are to be sold on board the ship Alice and Elizabeth, Capt. Faire, commander, several likely Welsh and English servant men, most of them tradesmen." They are to be seen "at Mr. Hazard's in New York, where also is [*sic*] to be sold several negro girls and a negro boy, and likewise good Cheshire cheese." Besides these unwelcome immigrants, New York had several other disadvantages. It was a frontier colony. To the north and west the savages and the French drove away the farmers into the safer settlements of New Jersey. Some large estates, too, that still continued, with their feudal usages and tenantry, engrossed much of the good land on the banks of the Hudson. Free laborers refused to sink to the level of European serfs. In their place white and negro slaves filled the streets of New York and the plantations of Long Island. There was an active slave-market at the foot of Wall street, and the newspapers are filled with offers of rewards for runaway slaves. Slavery, with all its intense corruption and degradation, weighed upon the infant city. Young and old felt its demoralizing taint. Labor was held to be dishonorable. The frequent rumors of slave insurrections and the consciousness of their own guilt drove the whites often to deeds of insane cruelty. Negroes, for serious crimes were often burned alive. The hor-

[1] By the census in 1731, the city had about 9,000 inhabitants; the province about 50,000.

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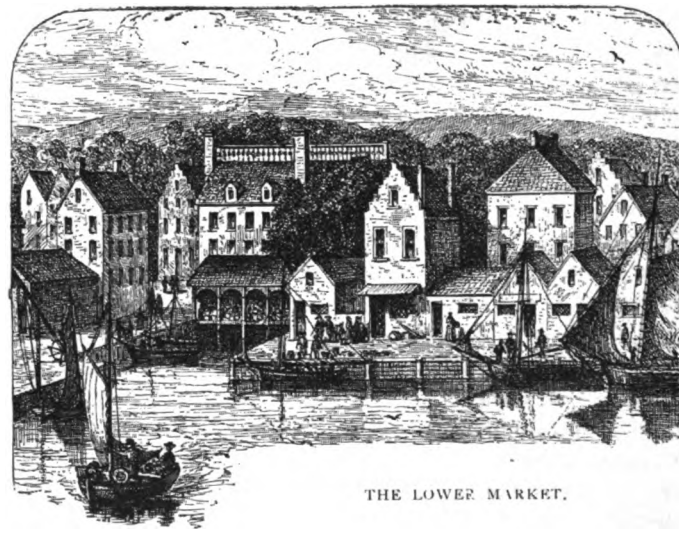
rible punishment was constantly inflicted upon those who rose in revolt. It is not necessary to repeat the well-known story. But the chief obstacle to the growth of New York was its want of self-government. It always remained a court colony. England had sent out its worthless or disreputable adventurers to rule almost by force over its murmuring people. Sloughter, who caused the execution of Leisler, was a drunkard and a rogue; Cornbury, a dissolute and shameless tyrant; Fletcher, but little better; even the cultivated Burnet wanted at times discretion. Only Montgomerie had shown a wise tolerance in his short administration. And the tyranny of the royal governors had already produced in New York a party not far removed from complete republicanism and independence. All the vices of a tyranny invaded the infant city. Sycophants, who flattered and preyed upon the officials; the faithful followers of the powerful, who justified all their acts; the lovers of rank and the rivals for precedence; the persecuting churchmen, the corrupt lawyers and judges —all appear in the period of a Fletcher or a Cornbury. The reputation of New York sank low, and its morals and its manners were inferior to those of its sister colonies. Luxury and gross vices came in. Jewels, silks, brocades, the plunder of some Indian trader, were sold openly. The strong wines of Madeira and great bowls of fiery punch were consumed in excessive quantities at every entertainment, and even at funerals. It was an age of coarse manners, gross vices, and few traces of a dawning refinement.



THE LOWER MARKET.

Cosby, after the first few days of congratulations and pleasant impressions, began to show the less agreeable traits of his character. He was evidently one of those needy, unscrupulous retainers of the English court who were sent over to New York to enrich themselves at the cost of the provincials. Even before leav-

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ing England, he had received twenty-four hundred pounds for his services in the affair of the sugar bill. He now made a new demand upon the colonial assembly for a larger compensation. The house yielded with some murmurs, and gave him one thousand pounds. He was so displeased at the smallness of the sum that he spoke of it with contempt.[1] In addition the house fixed his salary at one thousand five hundred pounds, besides allowing him various expenses and perquisites. It is not possible to estimate exactly the cost of an English governor to the colony; but Cosby received an income of over ten thousand dollars—an excessive salary in these early days. He had, besides, his house in the fort, and apparently increased his gains, according to charges or calumnies of his enemies, by taking bribes and selling offices.

The effects of the late governor, Montgomerie, sold at auction after his death, give us some conception of the decorations and furniture of a New York home in 1730. There were fine beds and bedsteads, blue cloth for liveries, silver-handled knives and forks, "a very fine medicine chest with great variety of valuable medicines," some good Barbados rum, horses, coaches, a state barge handsomely decorated and various pieces of furniture, four negro men and four negro women, silver plate and many other articles of value. The finest wines and liquors and a library of fourteen hundred books were also among Montgomerie's possessions. The governor drove out in state with servants in livery and fine coaches; his family were dressed in the latest London style, and his receptions and parties glittered with jewels and satins, and his table was loaded with plate and the costliest wines. Cosby was fond of these entertainments, and was always apparently in want of money. To his avarice or his necessities he was to owe all the future pains of his unquiet administration.

Among the members of the council at his arrival were Rip Van Dam, the president of the province after the death of Montgomerie, and Messrs. George Clarke, Francis Harrison, James Alexander, Cadwallader Colden, Daniel Horsmanden, and James DeLancey. Van Dam was a successful merchant of Dutch descent, popular and highly respected; he had governed the province with discretion, and scarcely deserves the imputation Smith has thrown upon him of neglecting to oppose the inroads of the French on Lake Champlain. He seems to have been the first to give the alarm. His integrity was never doubted; he had descended to no ignoble means of increasing his fortune; his character offered a marked contrast to many of the active politicians of his age. Several of Rip Van Dam's descendants are found among us to-day; and the memory of his real worth is still preserved among them. As the president of the council he had welcomed Cosby on his arrival, and had yielded up to him at once his official position. What was his surprise when he found that Cosby had prevailed upon the council in England to order him to pay one half the year's salary to himself. Van Dam, who had performed all the

[1] "Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York," Vols. IV and V, give his letters and complaints.

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duties of the office was to be deprived of its emoluments, and that by an order from a foreign court that had no authority to touch the finances of New York! It was an indignity to himself and to the people. Van Dam refused the governor's demand, and refused to obey the orders of the council. He offered as a compromise to pay one half of the salary to Cosby if he would divide with

him the large sums he had received in England. This enraged Cosby and he declined. He resolved to prosecute Van Dam, the most honest and respected of the people—to begin a suit that was never to be decided. He was evidently wholly unacquainted with the feelings and wishes of the people he had been sent to govern. It was plain to every one that Van Dam was entitled to the salary of his office, but Cosby's anger was only the more inflamed when he found himself in the wrong. The means by which he hoped to attain his end was one that had always aroused the violent opposition of the people. He proposed to erect a chancery court to try the case against Van Dam. But an equity court ruled by the governor, was a thing the assembly had always protested against since the evil days of Cornbury and Fletcher. The governor was by his office also chancellor. He held, the people said, all their property by this provision, under his complete control. The best lawyers denied that any court of equity could be introduced in New York except by the act of its own legislature or parliament. They refused to admit any authority in the court. Cosby and his advisers, on the other hand persisted in their plan; and as the governor could not well sit as judge in his own cause, he appointed De Lancey, Philipse, and Chief Justice Morris to act as equity judges in the prosecution of Van Dam.

Cosby evidently relied on his powerful connections in England to sustain him in his imprudent course and an event now occurred that filled the gay circles of New York with an unusual excitement, and seemed to complete the successful opening of the governor's rule. This was the arrival of Lord Augustus Fitzroy, who was a suitor for the hand of his daughter. He was a son of the Duke of Grafton, the descendant of Charles II., so high in rank that even Cosby's daughter was thought a match too low for him. The whole town was stirred by the arrival of so great a

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personage. The mayor, aldermen, and assistants, attended by the chief officers of the city regiments, waited on him to thank him for the honor he did them by coming to New York and consenting to accept the freedom of the city. Then the "worshipful mayor" handed him a gold box, inscribed with the city arms, in which was the certificate of citizenship. The young lord answered pleasantly, thanking the mayor and aldermen, and saying he should always remember their kind reception. The lawyers, too, with Chief Justice Morris at their head, came to welcome him. He was an ardent lover, and Cosby writes to the Duke of Newcastle, October 26, 1732, with great satisfaction of his noble guest. He is evidently in a cheerful mood. "My Lord Augustus," he says, "is with me; he is of all the young people that I have seen the most agreeable and unaffected, with the finest notions of honor." Cosby tells the duke he has just given his son "Billy" a lucrative post in New Jersey. "Grace [Lady Cosby, sister of the Earl of Halifax] and the little family join in humble service to your Grace and the Duchess." "I have sent my Lady Duchess a live beaver," he adds. Not long after Lord Augustus was married to the young lady privately; it was an illicit marriage, and the clergyman who celebrated it was prosecuted.[1] But the offense was easily condoned, and the prosecution only a feigned one. Thus highly connected, supported by the favor of Newcastle and the ministry, Cosby thought he might easily subdue the feeble opposition in the colony, and reduce it to a proper obedience. He was determined, he said to maintain the royal prerogative. He would establish the court of chancery, however unpopular, and drive from the council the unlucky patriots who had merited his displeasure.

Elated by his apparent strength, Cosby now urged on the prosecution of Van Dam. Of the three judges he was sure of the sympathy and support of two, De Lancey and Philipse, but of the chief justice, Morris, he was evidently in doubt. The Morrises had been noted for their independence and a certain tendency to liberal opinions. Richard Morris, the founder of the family in America, of Welsh descent, had served as an officer in the Parliamentary army, and had fled, at the Restoration, to Barbados. There he married a lady of fortune and emigrated to New York, where he purchased from the Indian chiefs the wild lands in Westchester County now known as Morrisania. Here he lived in safe retirement, it is said, disguised as a Quaker, but was also a successful merchant in the city. His son Lewis, born at Morrisania in 1671, became one of the most noted men of the day. At his father's death he was left in the charge of his uncle, Lewis Morris. He seems to have been an active boy, not easily controlled: he had, from some dispute with his uncle, fled from home and wandered away to Virginia, and even as far as the West Indies and Jamaica. He supported himself in his exile and poverty by writing as a scrivner or copyist.

[1] It is said the clergyman, Campbell, climbed over the wall of the fort, and performed the ceremony without license, and Lady Cosby managed the affair. From this marriage was born a son, afterward Duke of Grafton.

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After some years of this vagrant life he came back to Morrisania, was reconciled to his uncle, who received him with great joy, and soon after married a daughter of James Graham, a woman of rare good sense and refinement. They lived together fifty years, we are told, in perfect harmony. Morris passed much of his early life in New Jersey. He was one of the council and a judge of its court. His intellect soon showed its rare activity: he was never weary of learning, and never so happy as in the society of men of letters and of thought. His temper was hasty, his decisions sometimes rash, but he was always a liberal, inclining to rational progress. Few of his contemporaries have left a stronger impress upon the early history of New York.

The suit against Van Dam was to be tried before the three judges as an exchequer court; it excited an intense interest among the people. All the old violence of party spirit was roused by this attempt, as it was thought, upon their liberties. The old men who may have seen Leisler and Milborne led out to execution, and who had never forgotten the dreadful scene; the young men who chafed under the haughty rule of the English officials; the Dutch citizens who had felt the scorn of their corrupt rulers and repaid it; the Presbyterians and other dissenters who had been persecuted and plundered by the Episcopalian governors, and probably the great majority of the people, looked upon Rip Van Dam as only the new victim of a foreign tyranny. For twenty years a member of the council, for several years its senior member, its recent president, and one of the most respected members of the community, he was now unjustly accused of improperly withholding moneys, and prosecuted in an illegal court. Van Dam was not to be terrified by the frowns of the governor and his followers. He boldly resisted, and was not easily to be destroyed. At the trial two remarkable men defended Van Dam. One was William Smith,

GREAT SEAL OF GEORGE I.

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the son of an immigrant from England. He was a good lawyer, a fine speaker, and had risen to eminence by his rare talents, industry, and unflinching courage. The other was James Alexander, an exile from Scotland, who, like Smith, had made his way to distinction in the colony, and was now a member of the council. It would be useless to repeat here the technical argument of the two lawyers. They boldly denied the authority of the royal council, or even of the king himself, without the consent of parliament, to legislate for New York. They made, in fact, an appeal for independence. The opposing counsel were about to enter into the merits of the case, when, to the surprise of Cosby and his adherents, the chief justice, Morris, interposed and delivered a decision in favor of the plea of Van Dam. He held with Smith and Alexander that the governor had no power to create an equity court. His two colleagues, De Lancey and Philipse, astonished at his boldness, gave opposing opinions defending the governor; they overruled even the chief justice. But no final decision was ever reached in this eventful case. The Court of Exchequer, as constituted by Cosby, never met again. The public opinion set too strongly against it; Van Dam was the victor in the contest against the court party, and his bold resistance led to a new sense of colonial rights—perhaps to final independence.

Like most men of narrow intellect, Cosby was a good hater; he scarcely knew how to forgive. His education had plainly been imperfect: his spelling and his grammar were often at fault; and his letters show a plain want of prudence and intelligence and the intensity of his dislike for his political opponents.

Against Chief Justice Morris the governor now turned all his rage. His decision in the Van Dam case seemed to the angry official treason against England and the crown. But especially was it a personal insult to himself. In his resentment he sent a message to Morris requesting a copy of his opinion in terms that were plainly designed to provoke him and that were a gross imputation upon his honor and good faith. Morris at once printed the opinion in a pamphlet, and sent a copy to Cosby with a memorable letter that marks the violent feelings of the time. "This, sir, is a copy of a paper I read in Court," he writes. "I have no reason to expect that it or anything that I can say will be at all grateful or have any weight with your Excellency, after the answer I received to a message I did myself the honour to send you concerning an ordinance you were about to make for establishing a court of equity in the supreme court as being in my opinion contrary to law which I begged might be delayed till I could be heard on that head." The close of the letter is an admirable defense of his own character; it reminds one at times of Johnson's famous reply. "If," Morris adds, "a bow awkwardly made or anything of the kind, or some defect in ceremonial in addressing you has occasioned that remark, I beg it may be attributed to want of courtly education or to anything else rather than the want of respect to his majesty's representative. As to my integrity, I

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have given you no occasion to call it in question. I have been in office almost twenty years. My hands were never soiled with a bribe, nor am I conscious to myself that power or poverty hath been able to induce me to be partial in favor of either of them, and as I have no reason to expect any favor from you, so I am neither afraid nor ashamed to stand the test of the strictest inquiry you can make concerning my conduct. I have served the public faithfully and honestly according to the best of my knowledge, and I dare and do appeal to it for my justification." Cosby at once removed Morris from his office by handing a notice of his appointment as chief justice to young James De Lancey. The governor assumed the air and powers of a despot. He insulted and degraded the chief justice of the province, violated the law, and showed openly his perfect contempt for the people.

The winter of 1732–33 was a scene of festivity and license in New York. The governor, fond of conviviality, an Irishman, impulsive, hospitable, extravagant, kept up a series of entertainments. Around the fort, the Battery, and what is now the Bowling Green, the few coaches of the city drove in and out on winter evenings, and the chill winds from the river never prevented the young men and women of the time from accepting the governor's invitations.

MIDDLE DUTCH AND FRENCH CHURCHES.

With the wealthier citizens he seems to have kept on good terms, but not with the wiser. Soon after his daughter Grace was married to a Mr. Freeman; every one hastened to congratulate him and Lady Grace. The allurements of a title and the latest news from the English court, the newest fashions and the sayings of the Duke of Newcastle and his Grace of Grafton, were irresistible to the New York merchants and their families. Cosby and Lady Grace knew and made use of the weakness of the

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provincials. The court party drew in many of the noted names of the time. In spring and summer New York offered its rare charms. The drive along Broadway was always attractive; the state barge was no doubt often seen upon the river; often the still waters of the bay resounded in summer evenings with the gay laugh of the young and fair, and the music of flute and violin. The evening row upon the river was long a favorite amusement with the New York families; it was kept up until the beginning of the present century. and has passed away forever. Never again, we may complain with some venerable Knickerbocker, will the young men and women of the city rise at five o'clock in the summer mornings to walk in pairs on the Battery under the elms and nut-trees, as they were wont to do in the last century; never will the fresh forests of Bloomingdale and the wilderness of Greenwich echo to the merry laugh and song of the gay sleighing-parties of the elder age.

Yet New York, with all its simpler charms, had many disadvantages. The water of the city was always bad, impure, and brackish. No sewers nor sanitary arrangements were yet possible. The streets were paved with rough cobblestones, if paved at all; to ride on them was a painful pleasure. At night they were lighted by a few lanterns. Broadway was already the finest of the streets, a famous drive reaching nearly to the Central Park. The roads around the city were very often neglected and dangerous: they are often complained of. The churches of the city, too, were still small except the Middle Dutch on Nassau street, which was finished in 1731. The Dutch congregation, the largest of all, had outgrown the small church in Garden street; the new building was a "high heavy edifice," very extensive, and could contain a thousand or twelve hundred hearers. From its steeple was long to be seen the finest view in New York of the city, the environs and the bay. In the Middle Dutch Church, from 1730 to 1736, gathered much of the wealth and beauty of the town. Still only Dutch was preached from its pulpit; its young men had not yet been tempted away by the novel forms of England, and its young maidens, with blooming complexions and golden hair, still carried on their arms, hung by silver chains, their Dutch psalm-books and chanted the hymns of Holland. Trinity Church was still the small building of 1696; it was enlarged some years afterwards, and was ornamented with pictures, the "gilt busts of angels winged," an organ and glass branches. But in 1730 it could scarcely contain the large congregations that filled it. As yet it was the only Episcopal church except the chapel in the fort, St. George's not being built until 1752. The Presbyterians had been treated with little ceremony by the royal governors. The Episcopal party had refused them a charter to hold lands; they then conveyed their lands to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and built their church. So little toleration was there in New York. The French had their small church, once very flourishing, but now broken up by unwise dissensions. The Episcopalians claimed that theirs was the estab-

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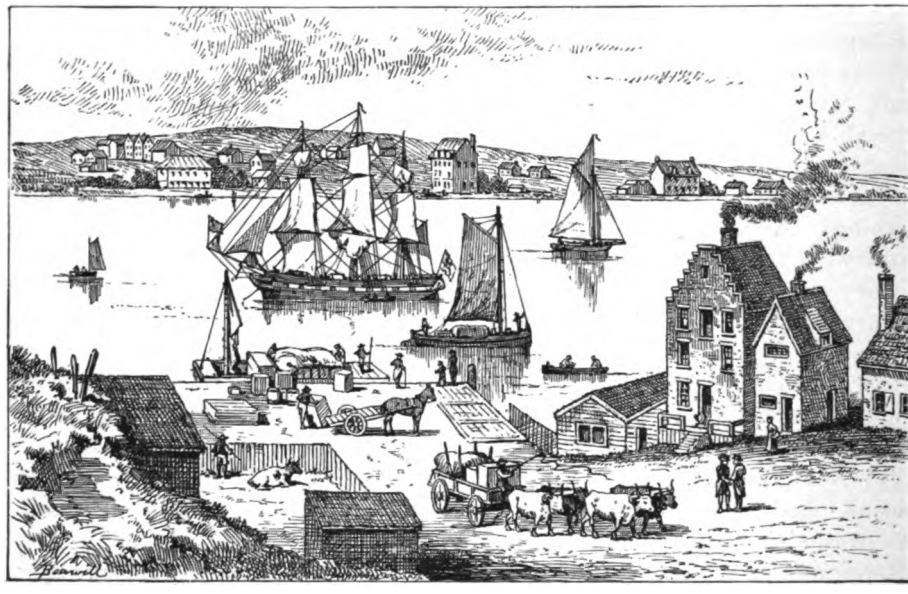
lished church, that they were entitled to tithes or a support from the State, and that the institutions and laws of England should prevail in New York.

The small city, extending only from Cortlandt street to Whitehall, disturbed by rival sects and leaders, was divided into two parties, the court's and the people's. Cosby, in the course of a few months, had contrived to revive all the suspicions, the fears, the factious strife that had been quieted under the prudent rule of Montgomerie. Against his opponents he resolved to use all the powers of an arbitrary rule. "The rights of the people," said Smith, as late as 1756, "lie even now at the mere mercy of their governours;" under Cosby they seemed to retain no rights at all. The assembly, although it petitioned constantly for its own dissolution, he refused to dissolve. He allowed it to meet only seldom, and at long intervals. He held his councilors in obedience by threats of dismissal. He established a kind of social despotism; those who were willing to submit to his arbitrary rule he asked to the court dinners and suppers in the palace in the fort; the patriots were rigidly excluded, or rather avoided. Thus it is likely that three fourths of the people of New York were already the governors avowed enemies, and that he relied for his support only on his powerful English friends, and his obedient councilors at home.[1]



BROOKLYN FERRY, 1736.

The year 1735 passed on, ever memorable in the history of New York. A fatal accident in July had

[1] The interesting episode of Cosby's attack on Zengler and the New York Weekly Journal, and Zengler's trial, the result of which established the freedom of the Press in New York, will be told in the next number.

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marked the laying of the first stone of the battery "on the rocks at Whitehall." The governor and a group of spectators had assembled, a salute of cannon was fired, a gun exploded, killing the high sheriff of the city, a Miss Van Cortlandt and a son-in-law of one of the aldermen. A single ferry to Brooklyn existed at the time: a barge or rowboat was the representative of the countless ferry-boats, swift and splendid, that now cover the harbor of New York. The cost of ferriage was high; a horse paid one shilling, a wagon five shillings, only a "sucking child" went over free. Through all its political struggles New York was still the gay, convivial city it is painted by the historians of the time.[1] It was called "one of the most social places on the continent." The birthdays and other anniversaries of the royal family were celebrated with illuminations, feastings, balls, and military parades, from which few went home sober. Great inequality of wealth marked the little city. A few held immense estates. Caleb Heathcote, the richest man of the day, died worth one hundred thousand pounds. He left his daughters each twenty-five hundred pounds in money. The large landowners had probably not great incomes. But very great extravagance is complained of in jewels, plate and furniture, horses and slaves. One family had forty negroes. But few in New York could live without labor or a trade. It is probable that the working-classes lived in abundance of food and in comparative comfort. Fruit, meats, game and vegetables were cheap. The houses were usually surrounded by a garden. Broadway was lined with trees, and the heat of summer was tempered by the winds from the bay. In winter the cold was severe. The legislature met in October, 1735, but could do little. It is said that Cosby was universally distrusted. Yet he seems to have been a pleasant companion, an affectionate husband and father. Had he secured better advisers, he might have proved a useful official. One act should be remembered to his credit. He urged the assembly to lay a heavy tax on the importation of negro slaves, as he would discourage the traffic. An almshouse was built about this time in the Fields or park. Here slaves were kept for correction, and the very poor sheltered. But few new buildings were erected in New York. The bad government checked population.

The last days of Cosby's administration were filled with mortification and pain. He had been seized with consumption, and was slowly passing away. Now and then his physicians gave him hopes of recovery, and his amendment was announced in the courtly "Gazette." His mental may have been the cause of his physical suffering: all his plans had failed, all his hopes of wealth and power were gone. The ministry in England had grown weary of his endless complaints, and were convinced of his want of discretion. They paid no attention to Cosby's charges against his enemies, and reproved him for voting in the council. He had been guilty, too, of acts that were criminal in their nature and might lead to an impeachment. Some deeds that had

[1] Smith's Hist., N. Y., p. 224; see also Kalm and Burnaby.

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been intrusted to him to prove the title of the corporation of Albany to the lands of the Mohawks, when their tribe should dissolve, he threw into the fire. He was resolved to divide the country among new patentees and reap a harvest of fees. He threatened the landholders of Long Island with a new survey of their lands and a general alteration of their boundaries. Here, too, he probably looked for large profits. But soon his fatal disease gained in strength; the chill winter of 1735–36 probably hastened its progress; the winds from the river raged around the exposed fort at the Bowling Green, and the governor grew weaker as the cold deepened. But his passions had not yet died, and a strange scene was enacted in the bedchamber of the dying official. The council were summoned to meet for the purpose of removing Rip Van Dam from his place as councilor; Cosby ordered his name to be stricken from the list. He thus inflicted a last mortification upon his old enemy. It was his last act of pure tyranny. But his friends and followers evidently thought that with Van Dam at the head of affairs some of their misdeeds might be brought to light, and some of Cosby's ill-gotten gains be reclaimed. Clarke, his friend, the next councilor on the list was to succeed him in case of his death. Cosby died at the fort soon after, on March 7, 1735–6, and was buried with proper ceremonies.

The populace of New-York, it is said, rejoiced at the death of Governor Cosby; they were still wanting in the refinement that prevents the modern from exultation even in the death of a foe. They hoped at once to come into power; but they were deceived, and a fierce contest followed that had nearly led to civil war. The council met, passed over the claims of Van Dam, and selected Mr. George Clarke as its president. The popular party, enraged, insisted that the proceeding was illegal. Van Dam assumed the presidency, demanded the seal of the province from Mrs. Cosby, nominated a mayor and other officials and prepared for resistance.[1] Clarke and his party held possession of the

THE FIRST POOR HOUSE, 1734.

[1] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 6: 46, Clarke to Newcastle, March 16, 1736. Van Dam was not admitted to the fort.

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fort, armed themselves, and were equally resolved to rule. The assembly met, but finding the two parties irreconcilable, adjourned until the autumn. For some months New-York remained on the brink of a violent civil contest, its small population, of perhaps ten thousand whites almost ready to come to blows. The court party were evidently in the minority; but the fort and its garrison held the people in check. At length, in October, 1736, when the contest was at its height, a ship from England sailed into the harbor bringing with it the appointment of George Clarke as lieutenant-governor of New-York. In the face of this decisive action on the part of the home authorities in favor of one of the claimants, resistance ceased, and the patriots were in future to confine themselves to the limits of legal resistance to the foreign rule.

Mr. George Clarke, who soon after received his commission as lieutenant-governor, was one more of the impoverished adventurers who were sent from England to rule the people of New York. He had practised as an attorney in Dublin, had but little education. and his letter describing his voyage to Virginia shows his want of experience and his unfitness for any office that required intelligence and self-control.[1] Yet he had powerful friends at court, and in 1703 was appointed by Queen Anne secretary of the province of New-York on the death of Matthew Clarkson. Not long after he married Anne Hyde, a distant relative of the queen and of the famous Clarendon. He had his country-seat at Hempstead Plains, Long Island, where he had purchased a hundred acres of land from Walter Dongan.

The whole of this period of seven years in which Clarke held office is marked by the steady rise of the popular party to power.[2] It is one of the most important in the history of our state. The people, represented in the assembly, took into their own hands, the control of the moneys raised and expended by the province. In vain the court party and the lieutenant-governor insisted on a permanent revenue and unrestricted grants; the assembly steadily refused to yield. Step by step it made its way to power. It addressed the English officials in language that showed a new spirit had risen among the people. Under the guidance of Alexander, Lewis Morris, Jr., Smith, and others, it studied and discussed the principles of free government and suggested many of the ruling ideas that led to the final contest with England and the liberation of the New World. No part of our history deserves more careful study.

At length came the news of the appointment of George Clinton as governor, and Clarke's rule approached its end. He had few friends left in the colony, but he was never weary of urging the assemby to grant a perpetual revenue and submit to the authority of the crown. They treated his addresses with neglect, but provided liberally for the expenses of the province. On September 22, 1743, George Clinton arrived in New York, and Clarke soon after

1 "Voyage of George Clarke," O'Callaghan. His letter shows his youth, his bad spelling, and his easy morals.
2 Clarke to Newcastle, May 16, 1736, asserts that they planned an insurrection.

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returned to England. He had grown very wealthy and was supposed to be worth one hundred thousand pounds—so profitable was it to rule New York. In the close of his life he lived in the city of Chester, and a tablet was raised to his memory in one of the chapels of the cathedral. He was very old at his death. Some of his descendants still hold lands in the western part of our State, and recall the memory of George Clarke and his excellent wife, Anne Hyde. It must be remembered as a palliation for many of his political errors that he acted under instructions from Newcastle and the lords of trade, and reflected the want of wisdom that marked the usual conduct of the English ministry in colonial affairs.

CROWN PIECE, GEORGE II.

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SETTLEMENTS WEST OF THE ALLEGHANYS PRIOR TO 1776.

AT a meeting of the American Historical Society in Washington, December 31, 1889, a statement is reported to have been made that there were no white settlements west of the Alleghanys when the Revolutionary war began. And Theodore Roosevelt, in *Winning of the West*, makes the statement, that "when the fight at Lexington took place they [the Americans] had no settlements beyond the mountain chain on our western border. It took them a century and a half to spread from the Atlantic to the Alleghanys. In the next three-fourths of a century they had spread from the Atlantic to the Pacific."

We find that in 1673 certain priests established a mission at San Antonio, Texas[1]—now a very important town—and not long after they erected the Alamo, within which was enacted that sad tragedy in 1836, when Crockett, Travis, Bowie, and other heroes consecrated the soil with their heart's blood, soon destined to germinate and mature as the Lone Star Republic. In 1640 Santa Fé was the capital of New Mexico. In 1668 the mission of St. Mary's on Lake Superior was founded.[2] In 1673 Marquette was on the headwaters of the Mississippi and visited the Arkansas. In 1680 La Salle built Fort Crèvecœur on the Illinois river, near the site of the present town of Peoria. After journeying back and forth to and from Canada, in 1682 he discovered the mouth of the Mississippi. In 1684 La Salle with four vessels sailed from France for America. After experiencing much disaster in seeking to enter the mouth of the Mississippi, he finally landed in Matagorda bay, Texas, early in 1685. Here a fort was built. Of the original two hundred and eighty-five men only one hundred and fifty remained. Seeds were planted but few sprouted. Some of the men deserted. Reverses were met with which, on March 17, 1687, culminated in the murder of La Salle by one of his own men while *en route* to seek aid from a station on the Mississippi.[3] In 1683 Father Gravier founded Kaskaskia, and about 1693 began a mission among the Illinois, and soon after another mission was started at Cahokia.[4]

Between 1695 and 1702 several attempts were made by the French to open copper mines near the upper Mississippi, but they were kept off by the warlike attitude of the Indians.[5] In 1701 the French explored the Missouri to the mouth of the Kansas. Between 1700 and 1710 D'Ibberville built several temporary forts on the lower Mississippi and in the direction of Mobile bay. De la Motte de Cadillac in 1701 laid the foundation for forts at Detroit; and the first land grants at Detroit were made in 1707. Between the years 1700 and 1716, St. Denis explored the country towards

[1] *Encyclopedia Britannica.*
[2] Switzler's *History;* also *Western Annals.*
[3] *Western Annals.*
[4] *Western Annals.*
[5] Stoddard's *Louisiana.*

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the head of the Red, the Washita, and the Rio Grande below El Paso, and in 1703 he began a settlement on the Washita, keeping his headquarters at Natchitoches.[1] In 1719 La Harpe built a fort on Red River.[2] Spain disputed with France the right to the coast from Pensacola to the Rio Grande. In 1714 the French built Fort Rosalie, within the territory of the Natchez Indians, and afterwards proceded to treat the Indians with increasing contempt, until they even went so far as to demand that the natives should abandon their chief town. The wrongs of their injured brethren coming to the ears of the Cherokees, they counselled revenge, and on November, 28, 1729, every Frenchman in that colony was slaughtered excepting two, and the women and children. Two months later the French and Choctaws retaliated, and in two years' time scarcely a soul was left of the ill-fated Natchez.

Without dwelling on the continued warfare for ten years between the French and Chickasaws, we proceed to the detail of other settlements. French explorers journeyed westward into the country of the Osages, the Pawnees, and the Missouri Indians.[3]

These efforts at possession aroused the jealousy of the Spaniards, and a caravan left Santa Fé in 1720, and marched in search of the Pawnee villages. The intention of the Spaniards was to surprise, if possible, the nation of the Missouris, who at that time dwelt not far from the Kansas river; to conquer them, and to establish a settlement within their territory. At that time the Missouris were at war with the Pawnees, and the Spaniards purposed to join the Pawnees and war upon the Missouris. Instead of finding the Pawnee village, they unwittingly reached a Missouri village and were completely deceived, as the language of the two nations differed but little. The Spaniards were thus entirely thrown off their guard and freely divulged their plans. The Indians did not undeceive them, but requested time to assemble their warriors. Within forty-eight hours two thousand appeared under arms, and a grand feast was enjoyed by both parties. They then rested, but during the night the Indians arose and surprised the Spaniards, killing all excepting one priest. His life was saved and he was made to instruct them in horsemanship, he selecting the best horse for his own use. After a certain number of days of instruction in riding, he set whip to his horse and escaped to Santa Fé, and told of the disaster. The exact spot where this took place is not certainly known. It may have been near Kansas City, or else in Saline county, Missouri. I have, in fact, seen an ancient fortified place in Saline county, four miles southwest from Miami. This old fortification seems to have covered twenty acres of ground, upon which now stand trees, some of which measure over three feet in diameter, the whole surrounded by three ditches, and walls showing three feet difference in elevation. Near this locality the Missouri Indians did at one time dwell, and were afterwards driven west by the Osages.

After this occurrence the French, becoming somewhat alarmed, sent out De Bourgmont, who built a fort

[1] *Western Annals.* [2] *Ibid.* [3] Stoddard's *Louisiana.*

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called Fort Orleans on an island in the Missouri, not far below where the town of Brunswick now stands. This island has since been washed away. At that time the Missouri Indians also dwelt upon the north side of the Missouri river, and during the latter part of the last century were driven across, and for a while were established in Saline county, but were finally driven west by the Osages. Fort Orleans only existed five years. De Bourgmont brought about a peace with the various tribes in 1724, and soon after his fort was attacked and totally destroyed.[1]

Kaskaskia must have contained permanent settlements, for there are records of deeds to land there of date 1712, and in 1721 it contained a Jesuit college. In 1766 Kaskaskia contained one hundred families. Cahokia was settled soon after Kaskaskia, Fort Chatres was built in 1719, and rebuilt in 1754. Deeds are of record of lands at Fort Chatres and Cahokia of date 1722. Fort Chatres was for a while the seat of government of the Illinois country, and Colonel Pitman, a British officer who visited the country, says that the commandant or governor in 1756 had his headquarters at Fort Chatres. Beck informs us[2] that after a flood in the river the headquarters of the government were moved to Kaskaskia in 1772. The Illinois country was ceded to the English in 1763, but was not really taken possession of until 1765.

St. Ange de Bellerive then commanded at Fort Chatres as lieutenant-governor of the district of Illinois, and retreated to St. Louis in 1765. The first court of justice was held at Fort Chatres in 1768. Vivier, writing in 1750, says: "We have, in Illinois, near Kaskaskia, whites, negroes, Indians and half breeds. In the five French villages within twenty-one miles are perhaps one thousand one hundred whites, three hundred blacks, sixty Indians. Most of the French till the soil; they raise wheat, cattle, pigs and horses, and live like princes."[3]

Up to 1763 the country on both sides of the Mississippi above the mouth of the Ohio was called the country of the Illinois. When the east side was turned over to the British in 1765, the country on the west was called upper Louisiana, and St. Louis was the headquarters, or capital. The records show that wheat was raised in Illinois in 1720, and in that year De la Motte opened the mines in Missouri still known by his name, and La Renault opened other mines in Washington county from 1721 to 1743, and in 1763 Francis Burton discovered the mines of Potosi.[4] Beck[5] informs us of the early settlements of St. Genevieve and New Bourbon (a few miles south), and they have authenticated traditions of settlements in 1735; and the St. Gens family have records of transfer of property in the post of St. Genevieve of the Illinois dated in 1854. The flood of 1875 destroyed the old town of St. Genevieve. and the present town was built near the bluffs.

Kaskaskia furnished supplies to the smaller towns. including Fort Chartres, St. Genevieve, and New

[1] Beck; *Gazetteer of Missouri*, and *Western Annals*.
[2] *Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri*.
[3] *Western Annals*.
[4] Schoolcraft.
[5] *Gazetteer Missouri* 1823.

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Bourbon, and the citizens spoke derisively of these places, applying the term *misère* to St. Genevieve, *pain court* (short of bread) to St. Louis, *vide poche* to Carondelet, and *pouilleux* (lousy) to Kaskaskia. In 1784 Kaskaskia and Cahokia[1] had a population of four hundred and forty. In 1750 New Orleans had one thousand two hundred inhabitants, and ten miles up the river was a German settlement where tobacco of good quality was raised. In 1749 the Ohio company obtained leave to settle on a grant of five hundred thousand acres on the Ohio river in the disputed territory. They employed Chris-Gist to explore it. He passed down the Ohio and up the Miami to the town of Twightees, one hundred and fifty miles above its mouth. On June 18, 1752, the treaty of Logstown was effected by the Virginia commisioners with the Northwest Indians, in which the Indians agreed not to disturb any settlements southeast of the Ohio river. Gist then proceeded to lay off a town a little below Pittsburgh at Chatres creek.

The governor of Canada directed the erection of forts at Presque Isle on Lake Erie, at the head of French creek at La Bœuof, and at the mouth of French creek Fort Venango was erected. General (then Major) Washington was sent by the governor of Virginia to remonstrate against these settlements. The after result was the war signalized at its beginning by Braddock's defeat at Point Coupee. In 1754 three hundred families left France for the purpose of settling around Vincennes. In 1768, by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, the Iroquois relinquished all claims to territory south of the Ohio, and by this the other treaties of 1684 and 1726 were confirmed. Sir William Johnson was present on the part of the British colonies, and there were also representatives from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, together with Delawares, Shawnees, and the Six Nations.

In 1758 Dr. Thomas Walker of Albemarle county, Virginia, explored the mountain valleys of southwest Virginia, and east Tennessee, and the upper portion of Kentucky, and gave a name to the Cumberland river and to the Cumberland mountains. In 1769 Colonel Joseph Martin, also of Albemarle, Virginia, with others, took steps to form a settlement in Powell's valley.[2]

These explorers prepared the way for further progress westward; for instance, Daniel Boone, in 1769, visited Kentucky, and in 1775 he again came and erected a fort, and began the settlements at Boonsboro. In 1769 the first settlement was formed on the banks of the Watauga, then others on the Holston; and in 1772 James Robertson and John Sevier adopted laws for the government of the colony. They next called a convention from that and neighboring settlements, including Nolichucky and Carter's valley, to meet at Watauga, and this may be considered the first assembly called together to establish laws for the government of colonies in the then new west. The Kentucky convention met several years later, and was the first that met entirely west of the mountains. Their legislative assemblies continued during six years, until 1778, when

[1] Roosevelt.

[2] *Western Annals.*

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North Carolina organized the county of Washington, including all of Tennessee.[1] Virginia claimed all west of Pennyslvania, and Virginia, and the Virginians (or long knives) were the only foe the red man feared. In 1768 a treaty was made at Stanwix with the Iroquois, they relinquishing all title to the country between the Ohio and Tennessee. October 14, 1768, a treaty was effected at Hardlabor, South Carolina, with the Cherokees, confirmed by a second treaty, October 18, 1770, by which the right was confirmed to the Cherokees to hunt on certain territory. In 1772 Virginia made a treaty with the Cherokees, the latter to remain south of a line running west from White top mountain, latitude 36° 30′. The British agent being likely to cause trouble, Robertson and the settlers on the Watauga made a lease of lands, paying six thousand pounds sterling value in goods. A second treaty was made in 1776 by buying the same territory.

In 1775 Henderson called together the colonists of Boonsboro, Harrodsburgh, Boiling Spring and St. Asaph's for the purpose of forming some kind of government. The convention adjourned without accomplishing much and did not again meet. At the earnest request of George Rogers Clark, in 1776, Virginia admitted Kentucky as one of her counties, with Harrodsburgh as county seat. In 1778 all the territory northwest of the Ohio was formed into one county called Illinois, with John Todd commandant; and in 1781 Virginia ceded to congress all her claim to this territory. In 1780 Virginia made grants of land in Kentucky for educational purposes,[2] and in the same year the territory was divided into three counties—Fayette, Jefferson, and Lincoln.[3]

In 1781 a territorial organization of Kentucky was effected, and in 1786 Virginia agreed that Kentucky should form an independent organization. In 1785 Kentucky contained twelve thousand inhabitants.

Thus far it seems to be proven that there were settlements west of the Alleghanys prior to 1776. A number of forts were established in the territory now included in the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas. Mr. Roosevelt informs us that in 1769 a settlement was made in the Watauga valley between the prolongation of the Blue Ridge and the Cumberland mountains. Speaking of the settlers generally in their dealings with the Indians, he says: "The English drove the natives away and took possession of their lands; the Spanish sat down in their midst." He further says, "that the names of Ethan Allen and Marion are better known than that of George Rogers Clark, yet their deeds, as regards their effects, could no more be compared to his than his to Washington." Sam Houston is another man whom he places high on the list of heroes. "In the northwest the army went first, then the settler. In the southwest, Sevier, Robertson, Clarke, and Boone, led their fellow pioneers to battle as Jackson did afterward, and Sam Houston later still. . . . The southwestern settlements won their own soil for themselves." He pays great tribute to the courage and indomitable perseverence

[1] Roosevelt. [2] *Western Annals.* [3] Mann Butler.

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of the pioneer settler of the southwest from the Watauga to the Alamo.

The early settlers were largely of Scotch or Irish descent, or a mingling of the two, and were chiefly Presbyterians in religion. A few years later the Baptists came, and still later the Methodists. Classes of more aristocratic origin began to emigrate from Virginia to Kentucky about 1783, but the pioneer element ruled up to 1796, when Benjamin Logan was defeated for governor.

In Tennessee the Indian fighters continued to give tone to the social life in the state up to the time of their death. The first settlers were chiefly of stock originally Irish and Scotch, who drifted down the valley of Virginia, and thence west to Kentucky. To quote Roosevelt once more: "The backwoodsmen were Americans by birth and parentage, and of mixed race, but the dominant tint of their blood was that of the Presbyterian Irish. The Watauga settlers outlined in advance the nation's work. They tamed the rugged and shaggy wilderness, they bade defiance to outside foes, and successfully solved the difficult problem of self-government. . . . No Europeans could have held their own for a fortnight in Kentucky,[1] and the west could never have been conquered in the teeth of so formidable and ruthless a foe, had it not been for the personal prowess of the pioneers themselves." The land was conquered not so much by the actual shock of battle between bodies of soldiers, as by continuous westward movement.

G. C. BROADHEAD.

[1] Viz., at Boonsboro.

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THE HEROINE OF THE ALAMO.

DURING a recent visit to San Antonio I determined to discover, if possible, the retreat of a woman to whom history has strangely denied her legitimate place, but who is well known among the "Latin-Americans" as a sinister relic of an inglorious past. Long regarded as a myth by denizens from the northern cities, the actual existence of Madame Candalario was established not long since by the Legislature of Texas, in the granting of a pension, and also by a portrait conspicuously placed on the walls of the court house in San Antonio. This portrait, in oil, hangs near the Soladad entrance, and is inscribed, "An old friend of the United States." Her connection with the Battle of the Alamo is no longer a doubt.

In Edward King's "Visit to San Antonio," published in "Scribner's Magazine, January 1874, we find a description of that battle, the most heroic, the saddest, the most unprecedented in American history, concluded with these words. "The Texans fought like demons, but were finally overpowered and were all put to death. Two women, their two children and a negro boy were the only survivors of this dreadful massacre; and but one, a Mexican woman, is alive to-day."

The history of this Mexican woman is interwoven with the annals of Texas, as Spanish colony and Mexican State, long before her name became synonymous with the horrors of the Alamo. We have different periods of a life, mysteriously prolonged, that was part of troubled times long passed, but incredibly near to the present for her. And so interesting, so filled with romance and adventure, interwoven with valid, historic fact, that the greatest wonder is the obscurity in which this strange woman has lived, and possibly could have lived in no other city of the United States, for so many years. It is certain that there is not another city between the Dominion of Canada and the Rio Grande so rich in authentic, unwritten history as San Antonio. The entrance of the first railroad, about eighteen years since, infused new life into the old Spanish town. There were few indeed to bring its hidden stores to light. But now that a brilliant cosmopolitan city has sprung up among the pecan and huisatche groves, it is strange that the "new people" from the north find so little time, beyond an occasional visit to the ruins of the Franciscan Missions, to give to researches into so fruitful a past.

Withheld for some time by my American friends from venturing into the Mexican precinct, I at length, through the assistance of a gentleman in the mayor's office, secured an intelligent and gentlemanly Mexican escort and interpreter to accompany me to Madame Candalario's house. We passed through several of those streets which oftenest furnish items for the famous Bat Cave register,

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frequently under yellow flags inscribed with the word "Virulas," and paused before a gate over which were the sharply accented English words," "Keep Out." Notwithstanding this admonition we entered a courtyard and then a little, fort-like adobe building in which sat Madame Candalario, over an open fire, though the day was oppressively warm.

Her portrait in the court house was not nearly so exaggerated as I had supposed, for there came to us, leaning on her cane, a little, witch-like old woman, enveloped in a tapola, whose eyes peered at us through a blue film, and whose brown skin was shrivelled and furrowed beyond resemblance to anything human. Strange to tell, this woman, a centenarian, retains every sense but that of sight, unimpaired, and possesses an active memory which it is impossible to trip into an inaccuracy.

MADAME CANDALARIO.

I will endeavor to epitomize the important points of an interview which had such special interest for me, and which, notwithstanding its isothermic discomfort, was prolonged for several hours.

She was born in Laredo, in 1785, to Antoine Casdanon and wife, and was baptized Andrea by the parish priest. In this remote Mexican town she grew to be a woman dwarfish in stature and not robust in health, but if her memory is correct, for there is no other to bear witness, she made a reputation as *Ama de casa*, preparing such delicacies as *tortilla* and variations of the everlasting *chili con carne*, with a success that indicates the receipts were lost among other national treasures; a peaceful girlhood passed into the lap of danger. In 1810 Andrea was married and accompanied her husband to San Antonio. At this time Texas we know was already a troublesome possession to old Spain. Revolting Mexicans with am-

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bitious American allies, were continually in arms, and their fluctuating fortunes made most unfortunate the condition of the more peaceable inhabitants. There were large numbers of people from "the States," chiefly Kentuckians, settling about San Antonio, and, says Madame Candalario, through her interpreter, for her English is very uncertain, and my Spanish equally so, "they were tall men, who carried muskets and wore fringe on their coats." (probably the fringed buckskin suits of the Kentucky hunters.) That these tall Kentucky men were not asleep during the disturbances may be readily understood. The year 1830 was one of the most troubled in the turbulent past of Texas. The defeat and murder of the gallant Spanish General Salcedo, and the consequent massacre at Medina were followed by continuous scenes of blood and terror. Alert treachery and eager cruelty were the main characteristics of those strangely mixed and commingled nationalities and "the brave old town of San Antonio" was the center of several notable insurrections. To quell one of these came General Arrendo in the fall of 1813, and he brought with him a young sprig of a cadet from a military school in Mexico, whom he made a lieutenant and put in command of a company. This youngster's name was Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna.

A battle was fought at Posetos, a suburb of San Antonio in which the Spaniards were victorious. The rebels were fiercely punished by Arrendo; very nearly all the men of the town and surrounding country, and many of the women were set to grinding corn in that part of the city, now Quinto street, then known as the Quinto. The corn thus laboriously ground with heavy iron spikes was appropriated to making bastiminto (hard tack) for the soldiers. When Arrendon was summoned elsewhere Lieut. Santa Anna remained behind.

His first meeting with Senora Candalario is indefinite but after the quelling of the insurrection he boarded in company with herself and husband in the house of a woman destined to become the mother-in-law of the infant Candalario, trussed in its basket among the clumps of mesquite brush, like Moses in the bulrushes. Tradition gives to Madame Candalario a comely appearance in youth; we know that she was a remarkable woman even then; one whose resolute spirit to do and dare had already been demonstrated. Santa Anna's ferocious bravery was mingled with half-savage knight-errantry, as records tell, and he readily recognized the metal of which this little Mexican woman was made. How social life was conducted in this sequestered nondescript town eighty years ago we cannot know, but Santa Anna was accustomed to the stirring life of the city of Mexico, and his friendship with Andrea Candalario must have greatly contributed to making endurable his *villeggiatura* in San Antonio. In those days, if not in these, friendship between a vivacious married lady and an impressionable youth might degenerate in sentiment —*presto maduro, presto podrida.* But there is no record to show more than ordinary good fellowship of enduring quality between this hero and heroine of long ago.

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Inured to hardship and danger, a wife whose household duties included that of reloading her husband's musket, a mother guarding her babe in ambush, the young matron of those troubled times must have had little heart for social follies. And this archaic relic brings to posterity only a good and patriotic report.

It was to her acquaintance with Santa Anna that Madame Candalario was indebted for exemption from beating corn on the Quinto as, long after, she was indebted to the same source for the saving of her life. She vividly recalls the early appearance of the "Napoleon of the West." He was not tall but had a martial bearing, he had a beautiful face, and wore rich clothes—*el esplendido Santa Anna, prospero, animo.*

For a long period San Antonio, crouching among her groves of live oak and pecan, saw many troubled days, of which Madame Candalario tells little that is important, or of her personal experiences. She became the mother of a family of children, all dead long ago, but their descendants are about her. Virginia, a girl of fourteen, with Anglo-Saxon blood bleaching her complexion, stood in the background during my visit and regarded me silently with her narrow, blue-black eyes. A girl whose position is exceedingly unfortunate in the light in which Mexicans are regarded both by Americans and Spaniards—beautiful, ill-chanced and without mother, except for the great-great-grandmother whose little adobe fort she shares.

The most interesting of Madame Candalario's reminiscences date from the breaking out of the war between Texas and Mexico, and especially from that time, when, during an ominous calm resting upon San Antonio, the Texan Congress prepared to issue its declaration of independence. General Bowie lay ill of typhoid fever and his little army awaited that turn in events which was to come upon them sooner than they dreamed. Madame Candalario was now an enthusiastic rebel. What was in her power to do to assist the Texan army and their United States allies, she did with all her might in the face of all impending dangers, and she it was who was General Bowie's attendant during that last most unfortunate illness. It is from this period her memory is most active. Events of last year or yesterday may be forgotten, but at the mention of those stirring times or of the heroes of the Alamo, she is alert and will relate incidents, and describe the scenes she witnessed with never failing accuracy. She takes great pride in her adherence to the side of Texas, and the invaluable assistance which she believes she rendered the cause, always styling herself an old friend of the United States, though the lone-star flag was not blended with the stars and stripes for several years later.

Two nights previous to the opening of the siege of the Alamo and with that horrid massacre so close at hand, a ball was given at a hall in Acequia street, which was attended by a number of General Bowie's officers, in search of one of whom Madame Candalario was sent at midnight. While standing in the hall, endeavoring to catch a glimpse of this person, a Spaniard, disguised in the dress of a citizen of the United

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States, approached and petitioned her hand for the dance. She recognized him instantly to be her old acquaintance, Lieut. or rather Gen. Santa Anna. For once a special providence and a woman's caprice served one end, for, happily for her, the dance was not refused him.

If Madame Candalario had been all Spanish, if she had not been tinctured with the timid, short-sighted Aztec blood, she might have made use of this discovery and subsequent events have perhaps been averted. But it is not easy to appreciate at this date the bewildering and sinister position of a woman so situated.

In this hall on this gala night, "the night before Waterloo," handsome, gallant, ill-fated Davy Crockett was making love to the dark-eyed senoritas in execrable English, but, as is yet told and we may readily fancy, dancing with spirit and grace. Thirteen days later he lay in the street, on the spot where the Crockett block now stands, shot through the heart, the first of that brave band to fall.

No battle-field of America ever witnessed a struggle so heroic, no band of patriots ever so deliberately yielded themselves a holocaust to their country as did those enclosed within the walls of the Alamo. In recognition of their unprecedented and sublime self-immolation, the State will very soon erect, on Alamo plaza, a monument to her heroes. For the tragedy of the Alamo became the inspiration of San Jacinto.

During the entire seige the wife and little daughter of Lieut. Dickinson were hidden in the fastness of an old nun's cell, and in an opposite cell Madame Candalario was caring for the dying Bowie. The marvelous memory of this strange woman throws much light upon that fearful time. She tells how Dickinson, made insane by despair, or with a wild hope of escaping through those swarming hordes without, to beg assistance of the nearest allies, sprang from the wall one dark night, with his little son strapped to his side. Both were instantly killed.

It was this same elfish and extraordinary woman who helped Seguin off upon that strange trip up the stream which flows under the walls of the Alamo. With bottled letters under his arm he made his way at night under the surface of the water to a place beyond the outer ring of the Mexican army, and succeeded in reaching the nearest friendly settlement. His mission failed, there was no salvation for the imprisoned band at San Antonio, but the State of Texas does honor to an heroic exploit in the thriving little city of Seguin.

When at length the purpose of the rebels was accomplished, and the exasperated Santa Anna detained at San Antonio long enough to give the Texans at Gonzalas time to gather strength from the interior, the women within the fort heard the order of Colonel Evans to fire the magazine. This was on the morning of that dreadful 6th of March, 1836. A vault-like apartment without windows, where the altar boys lighted their candles in the days when the Alamo was a cloister, had been improvised into a magazine. As Col. Evans, torch in hand, stood at the entrance of this place a Mexican cannon ball at length made a breach in the wall

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and struck him dead. The hero martyrs, one hundred and seventy-two in number, were now at the mercy of seven thousand foes, and were brutally butchered. The dauntless woman kneeling beside the dying Bowie was wounded in the throat by a bayonet aimed at her charge. There is much of an unrevealed past "locked up in hieroglyphic" in that puckered skin, but the heavy scar in her brown throat tells its own story.

By the order of Gen. Santa Anna the wounded woman was safely conveyed through the horde of butcherers swarming the streets to the Cathedral of San Fernandino, and soon after set at liberty. She was a rebel, but even the ferocious Spaniard was influenced sometimes by the dear conceit of early memories.

They never met again, and when, after San Jacinto, Texas, was free, Madame Candalario retired to her quiet home to live on and on through the wonderful changes of the century. Her memory of the war with Mexico is so accurate that it is impossible to detect an inconsistency in her statements, and her descriptions of the generals she knew, and of *el esplendido* Santa Anna more than any, is in keeping with all that is known of them.

A visit to this weird old dame is thrillingly interesting. It lingers in the memory of one of her guests with the haunting persistence of her solemn parting words: "Dios te bendigo, Senora, Adios."

MENA KEMP OGAN.

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"CAMP ON THE MISSOURI" — OLD FORT ATKINSON.

THE history of the old frontier post on the Missouri River, within the present confines of Washington County, and now known as Fort Calhoun, is one of the most obscure subjects relating to the occupation, settlement and development of Nebraska.[1]

The first mention of this beautiful place after the Louisiana purchase, is that made by Capt. Meriwether Lewis, who with his sailboats and two horses traveled from the ancient Iowa village near the mouth of the Boyer river in a westerly direction, on the 30th of July, 1804, and landed at the foot of the high river bank now due east of the present Fort Calhoun railway station, a distance of three and one fourth miles from his starting point. This was probably at that time the mutual meeting place of the Indian tribes who lived in that vicinity. Describing the place he says, "The land here consists of a plain above the high-water level, the soil of which is fertile and covered with grass from five to eight feet high, interspersed with copses of large plums and a currant like those of the United States. Back of this plain is a woody ridge, about seventy feet above it, at the end of which we formed our camp. Still back of this is a prairie with grass ten or twelve inches high, extending back about a mile to another elevation of eighty or ninety feet, beyond which is one continued plain." This place is further described as being situated one day's journey from the Otoes, one and a half from the Great Pawnees, two from the Mahas, two and a half from the Pawnee Loups, convenient to the hunting grounds of the Sioux and twenty-five days journey from Santa Fe. It was to this lovely spot that the name of Camp Missouri was applied by the engineers of Major Long and the army of Gen. Atkinson, and which sixteen years later was the busy home of some twelve hundred men, in the uniform and under the banner of the United States. It was the greatest western outpost of our little regular army during the administrations of President Monroe and John Quincy Adams, and continued for a period of eight full years to be the advanced guard of our government against the turbulence of Indian tribes and of British aggression. Mr. Wilson Price Hunt and his party and Mr. Manuel Lisa and his foreign trappers and *voyaguers* alone had touched its shores, spread their tents and admired its beauties.

Seventy-three years ago, Charlton, Missouri, was the nearest post-office to Nebraska soil and was the address of the officers and men of this army of occupation during its stay in Nebraska.

The administration of Monroe, admonished by our experience with Great Britain in the second war with that power, began, early in 1817, preparations to establish a line of posts

[1] A paper read before the Nebraska State Historical Society.

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from Lake Michigan westerly to the mouth of the Yellowstone river. Black Hawk and his band of British Sax and Foxes had been both uniformed and armed, enlisted and arrayed, and actually participated in the battles at some western posts during the war of 1812. Many hundreds of Indians along the forty-ninth parallel then carried British fusees and hunted the buffalo and the elk with British powder and ball. This continued, notwithstanding the treaty of peace with that power, and our citizens were overpowered and driven from our hunting grounds by unfriendly menaces from the subjects of our adversary, who were also reaping the rich profits from the Rocky Mountain fur trade upon American soil. It was to reassert American supremacy to the Wisconsin, Minnesota, Dakota, Montana and our own Nebraska land, that appropriations were made and two expeditions fitted out under the act of Congress at the instance of President Monroe and Calhoun, his Secretary of War, the one following the Mississippi and the other the Missouri river, the one resulting in the occupation of the Rock Island, Prarie du Chien and the Falls of St. Anthony on the Mississippi, and the other being known as the Yellowstone expedition, the first under Col. Leavenworth and the last under that superb veteran, Gen. Henry Atkinson.

The movement of the army under Gen. Atkinson was commenced in the year 1818, but the riflemen from Col. Talbot Chambers' regiment proceeded no further than Cow Island in the Missouri river, south of the fortieth parallel north latitude. Here the companies of Captains McGee, Martin and Riley of our rifle regiment constructed Cantonment Martin, and waited for the advance of Gen. Atkinson the following season. This Capt. Riley was afterward the distinguished Gen. Bennet Riley, the founder of Fort Riley on the Santa Fe route, who by personal merit rose to his rank from the shoemaker's bench, a brave and true pioneer soldier.

The government went into the steamboat business in the year 1818 and not only chartered Col. James Johnson's line of steamers for this expedition but constructed that neat little sidewheel craft named the "Western Engineer," capable of making three miles an hour, and under the command of Major Long and his engineers. Col. Johnson not only furnished the steamboats for the expedition but purchased the commissary stores and entered under contract to transport the troops, the commissary and quartermaster's goods, and the ordinance and ammunition of war from Pittsburg to the mouth of the Yellowstone river. This contract also authorized the expenditure of large sums of money amounting to about the one third of a million dollars, and an equal amount for his own services and transportation. The ordinance and stores weighed nearly five hundred tons and some sixty-three thousand dollars were advanced Col. Johnson by the government. The steamboats furnished by him were named the Expedition, the Johnson, the Jefferson, and the Calhoun, and reached St. Louis just in time to meet the June rise of the Missouri river. After serious delays on account of drift-

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wood and injuries to his boats Gen. Atkinson and staff finally embarked about the fifth of July, 1819, but did not pass St. Charles until the eleventh. None of these boats reached their destination and the Calhoun was so weak in her machinery that she was unable to go beyond Boone's Landing, near the present railway station of Washington on the Missouri river. Two of the boats reached the little French settlement opposite the mouth of the Osage, and the fourth failed before she reached the mouth of the Kaw river. Gen. Atkinson's men were compelled to assist the contractor in transferring his goods from the boats to barges and keel boats, which were propelled up the stream by human strength, by the use of ropes and pulleys attached to the trees on the low river banks. It was a weary march of great privations to the men and resulted in the loss of Col. Johnson's entire fortune. His bills for transportation being refused by the action of Congress, it was not until late in September that the army reached the Council Bluff, still one thousand miles short of their destination. The delay was providential as the presence of an army was never greatly needed in the Dakota country until the construction of the Northern Pacific Railway, many years afterward.

The troops of this new expedition consisted of the rifle regiment commanded by Col. Chambers and the sixth infantry under Major A. Cummings, three detachments of artillery, in all about twelve hundred men, the whole being under the command of Gen. Atkinson, The sixth regiment marched or rather tugged as history now shows, on foot and on barges, a distance of 2628 miles from Plattsburg, New York, to their new camp on the Missouri river, and their endurance was only less remarkable than the debates in Congress upon the Missouri compromise. The riflemen came from Philadelphia, Prairie du Chien and Baton Rouge.

Upon a September morning, worthy of a poet's pen, and in which Nebraska stands alone by reason of her temperature and scenery, a small body of horsemen rounded the Rockport hill from Lisa's trading house (known in after years as Cabaher Fort) climbed the ascent to the undulating lands of the Garryowen settlement of Washington county as it is now known. In this cavalcade was Gen. Atkinson in full regimentals, his adjutant, orderly, Col. Chambers, Dr. Gale, Gov. Clark of Missouri, then ex-officio superintendent of Indian affairs, Major O'Fallen with other officers and servants, and a small body of footmen. The procession proceeded by the foothills of Calhoun, crossing Turkey Creek and following the beautiful semi-circle, until the scene of this sketch was reached. When they came to the present vicinity of the Calhoun depot they filed to the right and advanced in an easterly direction until they reached the Council Bluff, so well known to Gov. Clark, who sixteen years before was the "Redhair" at the Indian council held there by himself and Capt. Lewis. From this bluff, where for years the Indians had driven the buffalo to destruction in their annual hunt, was located the new camp of the little

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army and the eight years' occupation began. There was not a mile of railway in all the United States. There was not a white settler in the State of Iowa excepting Julian Dubuque and a score of French miners on the Mississippi river. The wild bees had not reached the linden bloom, nor sucked the golden rod of this far off land. In a short time the sixth regiment reached this same point and the Yellowstone expedition began to construct its winter quarters. It was at once christened with the name of Camp Missouri, and its log houses soon demonstrated the industry of American soldiers.

Gen. Atkinson, notwithstanding the popular misapprehension and newspaper abuse of this expedition, was a real hero upon this occasion and sufered many privations. His little army and his colored servant were his admirers and friends. His invention to propel flat boats, which consisted of a long, unwieldy crank, had served only to blister their hands as they tugged, not in vain, against the current and drifts of floating timber. Notwithstanding which they loved him. He was a veteran of the war of 1812, but not a graduate of West Point. His greatest achievement was in after years when he won the heart and grasped the hand of Miriam Bullet and led her to the altar as his bride. He continued at this camp in command of these forces until October 21st, 1821, when he was succeeded by Lieut. Col. Henry Leavenworth, being promoted to the rank of brigadier general and placed in the command of the department of the Mississippi, with headquarters at St. Louis. In 1822 he visited the camp again but returned in the autumn by Fort Smith to St. Louis. At the close of the Arickari war in 1823 he visited the camp again, returning to St. Louis in November. His fourth and last visit of which we have any record was in the year 1825, when he fitted out his army for an expedition into the Crow country from which he returned in November. It was upon this expedition that the wild Crows came near outgeneraling him. While in the act of writing his treaty they filled the touch-holes of his cannon with dirt and then raised a tumult, which by good fortune was quelled in time and his life and army saved.

After the promotion of Gen Atkinson in 1821 the place was no longer called Camp Missouri, but all correspondence from it thereafter is dated Fort Atkinson. From that time Col. Leavenworth was in command until December 1825, when he was made Colonel of the Seventh regiment and went into the Indian Territory to take his command. He was succeeded by Col. Wooley, who commanded the post until its evacuation in June, 1827. Fort Atkinson was always, however, in the department and under the general command of its old commander.

The rifle regiment remained until the fall of 1821, when the post was occupied wholly by the sixth, until some time in 1823 when it received reinforcements owing to the Arickari war which was conducted from Fort Atkinson under the command of Col. Leavenworth. It numbered at that time 371 officers and men, present and absent, and received seven new lieutenants from West Point, who

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traveled a new route to their post of duty, going up the Hudson river, following the Great Lakes, thence crossing over to Prairie du Chien, thence by St. Louis to the camp.

When the whole army arrived in 1819 it numbered 1120 officers and men besides the servants. We do not believe that this number includes the three detachments of artillery accredited the post. The camp as laid out was located upon an elevation with the Missouri river upon the east, Hook's hollow on the south, a deep ravine on the west, and covered a tract of land about 1320 feet square. The north was commanded by a strong stockade and in the centre of this enclosure was the jack-pole upon the color line which extended east and west, and is about the centre of Madison street of old Fort Calhoun as surveyed in 1855. The block lying southeast of the jack-pole was chosen by Gov. Izard when he was taken into the old Fort Calhoun land company and his name is now so marked with ink upon the original plot. About fifty feet east of the jack-pole is an old cellar walled with brick and overgrown with vines where probably stood the building occupied by the commander as headquarters. About fifty feet to the west of the jack-pole and running thence north about three hundred feet are the ruins of one line of barracks still plainly marked and probably occupied by the officers as headquarters. From the north end of the officers' barracks running thence west about three hundred feet is a row of soldiers' barracks consisting of log houses without foundations. From the west end of the soldiers' barracks running thence south about three hundred feet were the cook houses without brick foundations, and where the kitchen wastes were afterwards found in great quantities. South of the color line some thirty feet and extending from the south end of the kitchen for a distance of near five hundred feet was another row of soldiers' barracks in the middle of which were constructed large fireplaces attested by piles of ashes and brickwork to show their exact location. South of the east end of the barracks was situated the old trading post of Major O'Fallen, and a road was digged down the bluff from that point to the mouth of Hooks hollow to the steamboat landing and paved with hard brick. A thousand feet still further east of this south row of barracks was the commissary buildings. These ran out to near the edge of the river banks near a bluff thence north and about three hundred and forty feet east of the jack-pole, and upon a line with the south end of the officers' barracks stood the hospital building, some of the brickwork still remaining there. A little northwest of this are the ruins of an old well and beyond it is a steeper road leading down the bluff to the boat landing. The remains would indicate that this latter road leads from the boat landing to the artillery park, and a line of stables is indicated as having been constructed north of this park on a line with the original survey of Court street. A large number of caves or caches were digged in this bluff the remains of which show for themselves, and then extended for seven hundred feet along

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the bluffs. These were possibly the winter quarters of the soldiers when pressed with cold weather to seek shelter from the terrific storms of the northwest. The sufferings of our soldiers at this camp were intense. The timber was cottonwood and elm, stoves not being in use at the time. North of the soldiers' barracks and within the rifle pits stood the stockade, the dimensions of which are now forgotten. It was constructed of logs and was large and well-nigh impregnable. These works were constructed early in the fall of 1819 and are mentioned in the report of the Secretary of War to Congress of date November 30th, as being ample for the protection of one thousand men.

The cannon numbered nine six pounders, one four pounder, and five twenty-four pounder howitzers, four hundred and twenty fusees, six hundred and forty-five muskets and six hundred and twenty-five rifles, and necessary accoutrements to aid in the holding the position rendered strong by nature.

The presence of Gov. Clark in the Indian country was the first step taken by the government to reduce the Nebraska aborigines to agency Indians, which after three quarters of a century of expenditure and suffering is only a partial success. Right lustily did Big Elk and White Cow with their four hundred Omahas shout its praises. Upon invitation they reached the camp on the 14th of October, and were addressed by Major O'Fallen, Mr. Dougherty and other white men. Both chiefs spoke upon this occasion and the whole band joined in the revelry which followed. Not long after this the Pawnees came also and the festivities were extended to the camp of Major Long's engineers, who were encamped on the land now owned by the Union Pacific Railway Company at the northeasterly point of the Rockport Hills. Big Elk was lionized by the white people and assumed to go where he pleased and to do what he liked with impunity. At near midnight he pleased to attempt an entrance into Manual Lisa's trading house but was promptly knocked down at the door with a whiskey keg by the owner or one of his clerks. This offence was afterward atoned for by the keg and its contents. The eight thousand dollars appropriated by Congress was used in presents distributed to the chiefs and in the construction of an agency building.

The hunting was good and game was plentiful in September, but the presence of a thousand Indians and more than a thousand soldiers and hunters soon banished the buffalo and all larger game so that by December it was impossible to find a hoof in less than about one hundred miles, although in February the hunters killed twelve bison near the Big Sioux river which were given the camp in honor of the day.

More than one hundred deaths occurred by March 8th owing to the scurvy which broke out in the camp, due to the want of fresh meat and antiscorbutics. Three hundred sick men were sent down the Missouri in barges bound for the hospitals at St. Louis. Major Long's engineers fared better although their camp was only five miles to the south and east of camp Missouri. They were under a

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less exacting discipline, were better provided with hunters, and were allowed to kill the rabbits with musket balls, of which Corporal Norman killed twenty-seven in one day. The death rate at Fort Atkinson was always high owing to the sickness of the soldiers, the arduous duties they performed, the exacting discipline they were under and the home sickness and privations to which they were subjected.

The Fort proper is not a matter of mere conjecture, as many marks yet remain to show where and how the soil was broken and the structures erected. Stone in large quantities was used and brick was moulded and burned at the point of the hill south of the boat landing; a lime kiln was erected near the blacksmith shop, a paved way was constructed from these bricks along the main wagon road. Brick and mortar and stone were used extensively in the construction of foundations of houses and in the construction of old-fashioned chimneys and fireplaces, and in the powder-magazines the remains of which stood until a few years ago.

The government also went into the farming business and established an experiment station, providing abundance of seeds of all kinds excepting seed corn. This they bought from the Omahas as it was considered best adapted to the climate. A large tract of land was put in a fine state of cultivation, a farm was enclosed and stocked with horses and cattle. Vegetables abounded in abundance and the camp was maintained almost self-supporting after the first year and during the last few years of its occupation. The farm extended to the northeast corner of the old Paddock place, east and north one mile square. A large cottonwood tree still marks the corner of this traditional tract. Thousands of bushels of corn were grown upon this farm and ground at the Government grist mill A good saw mill was also constructed and the native walnuts and elms with other timbers were turned into lumber.

The pioneers of Platt county, Missouri, came to the Fort Atkinson mills with their grain and marketed their meal along the river to St. Louis. An account is given by some one in which it is stated that one large load was marketed in New Orleans.

During the occupation of Fort Atkinson it had many eminent visitors besides those already mentioned, among whom was Major Long and his engineers, Dr. James, the surgeon and historian of his explorations, Gen. John E. Wood, inspector general of our armies, and Lieut. Jefferson Davis, afterward President of the Confederacy, who were there upon detached duty. Gen. W. S. Harney visited the place and Gen. Albert Sydney Johnson was a brevet second lieutenant and served his apprenticeship here. Lieut. Van Swearengen and other martyrs of the Florida war first learned to be soldiers at Fort Atkinson. Old Ben Riley studied the Indian character here and the accomplished Col. William Davenport and his estimable lady rode in the fashionable circles of Fort Atkinson among the wives and daughters of other prominent pioneer officers. The last distinguished visitor

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was the veritable Major George Croghan at whose name the western Indians had often trembled. This was in the year 1826. He was inspector general of the army at the time and it is probable that this report determined the government to abandon the fort which it did in the June following. Fort Croghan is the name given to a camp on Cutoff Island, some distance east of the present Lead Works, where a boat was snagged and the troops were cast ashore. The army could not have wintered at Camp Croghan as narrated by Mr. Sorenson in his history of Omaha for the reason that upon the first of October, 1827, the sixth regiment was at Jefferson barracks, Missouri, and numbered eighty-four sick, nineteen on extra duty, thirteen under arrest, and two hundred and twenty-one present for duty. No mention is made in the army register of the division of this regiment at that time. Fort Atkinson was evacuated about the 27th of June of that year.

During the occupation of the fort some ten court martials were held of minor consequence, the reports of which are not before us.

After the abandonment of the fort it was never again occupied by the troops and only occasionally visited before the extinguishment of the Indian title to the country. Lieut. G. K. Warren mentions having camped there when on his way up the Missouri river to make the survey of the Northern Pacific Railway. Neither Nicollet nor Fremont mentioned the place in their survey of the Missouri river, but it is certain that they took observations there and also tried to find the engineers' encampment in 1839.

The location is never mentioned by Gen. Atkinson other than as Our Camp on the Missouri. Upon the other hand it is always mentioned by Col. Leavenworth and other officers as Fort Atkinson in their correspondence with their superiors and with the Secretary of War. With reference to the name of Fort Calhoun, it is nowhere to be found in the reports prior to the year 1838, at which time Gen. Jessup recommended its occupation by the government, and inasmuch as the government was engaged during the years from 1819 to 1827 in constructing Fort Calhoun, Virginia, it is hardly probable that this place was called by the same name at the same time; in fact it was not a fort, although strong by nature and somewhat entrenched.[1]

W. H. ELLER.

[1] The writer has made a plat of Fort Atkinson as nearly as it could be fashioned from the remains, land marks and information at his command. He personally visited and inspected the ground with Mr. A. W. Beals, its owner, and with Hon. E. N. Grinnel, who himself saw it when still in a state of nature. About one fourth of the entire plot still remains unbroken prairie land. He also found an old gunflint, some buttons and balls, and one small silver coin. The writer has for years enjoyed the acquaintance of Capt. Benjamin Contal, the son of the drum major of the sixth regiment, who was with his father at old Fort Atkinson from the spring of 1822 until its evacuation and who rose from a drummer boy to the rank of Captain of Cavalry in a fifteen years' service. His reminisences are preserved by the Nebraska Historical Society.

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THE RIDE OF PAUL REVERE.

He said to his friend, "if the British march
By land or sea from the town to-night,
Hang a lantern aloft in the belfry arch
Of the North Church tower as a signal light."

COLONEL PAUL REVERE'S ride, commemorated by Longfellow in his famous poem, was but one of a series of momentous incidents in which as messenger and express to Portsmouth, New York, and Philadelphia, he carried intelligence on occasions of emergency. As a messenger he is said to have been steady, vigorous, sensible, and persevering, and he was the favorite courier of the continental congress. Revere was an ardent patriot, an associate of Hancock, Warren, Adams, and other leading patriots, and a chosen member of the Boston committee of correspondence, inspection, and safety.

At the time that he was selected by Dr. Warren, the president of this committee, for the important service of arousing the country at the first hostile movement of the British, he was thirty-two years old, and is described as being a handsome young man with dark hair and eyes, and strong and expressive face. He filled many high military offices, and was one of the chief actors in that memorable event, the "Boston tea party."

Paul Revere in a letter to the Massachusetts Historical Society, dated January 1, 1798, has given his own account of the events preceding that historic night, "the eighteenth of April in seventy-five," and his adventurous ride, in the following words:

"In the fall of 1774 and the winter of 1775 I was one of upwards of thirty, chiefly mechanics, who formed ourselves into a committee for the purpose of watching the movements of the British soldiers and gaining every intelligence of the movements of the tories.

"We held our meetings at the Green Dragon tavern We were so careful that our meetings should be kept secret, that every time we met, every person swore upon the Bible that he would not discover any of our transactions but to Messrs. Hancock, Adams, Warren, Church, and one or two more.

"In the winter, towards the spring, we frequently took turns, two and two, to watch the soldiers by patrolling the streets all night.

"The Saturday night preceding the 19th of April, about twelve o'clock at night, the boats belonging to the transports were all launched and carried under the sterns of the men-of-war. We likewise found that the grenadiers and light infantry were all taken off duty. From these movements we suspected something serious was to be transacted.

"On Tuesday evening it was observed that a number of soldiers were marching toward Boston common. About ten o'clock Dr. Warren sent in great haste for me, begging that I would immediately set off for Lexing-

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ton, where were Hancock and Adams, and acquaint them of the movements as it was thought they were the objects. On the Sunday before, I agreed with a Colonel Conant and some other gentlemen in Charlestown that if the British went out by water, we should show two lanterns in the North church steeple, and if by land, one, as a signal; for we apprehended that it would be difficult to cross over the Charles river to get over Boston neck.

"I left Dr. Warren, called upon a friend, and desired him to make the signal. I then went home (he lived in North square), took my boots and surtout, and went to the north part of the town, where I kept a boat. Two friends rowed me across the Charles river, a little to the eastward of where the Somerset lay. It was then young flood, the ship was winding, and the moon was rising. They landed me on the Charlestown shore."

Meanwhile his friend, through alley and street
Wanders and watches with eager ears.

Captain John Pulling, a "high son of liberty," and an intimate friend of Paul Revere from boyhood, was entrusted with the arduous duty of making the signals when it should be certain whether the British went by land or sea. This was a critical and hazardous enterprise. Christ church, the place selected from which to display the signals, was the most northerly church in Boston and had a very tall steeple, at that time one hundred and ninety-one feet high. Standing on high ground it formed the most conspicuous landmark for vessels entering the harbor, and was well known as the "North church." The British

NEWS FROM LEXINGTON

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soldiers patrolled the streets near the church, and not only was there risk of the signal light being observed in that quarter, but, as Pulling said, "he was afraid some old woman would see the light and scream fire."

At half past ten that night Lieutenant-Colonel Smith with eight hundred grenadiers and light infantry embarked in long boats at the foot of Boston common. General Gage that evening told Lord Percy that he intended to send a detachment to seize the stores at Concord, under command of Colonel Smith, who knew he was to go, but not where. The object of the expedition was not yet known, and he begged Lord Percy to keep it a profound secret. As this nobleman was passing from the general's quarters home to his own, he perceived eight or ten men conversing together on the common. Approaching them, one of them said: "The British troops have marched, but will miss their aim." "What aim?" said Lord Percy. "The cannon at Concord," the man replied.

Captain John Pulling, as soon as he was certain the troops were embarking, ran to the house of the sexton of Christ church, in Salem street, and demanded the keys. He being a vestryman, the sexton could not refuse them. He went to the church and, locking himself in, climbed to the upper window of the steeple and hung out the two lanterns, by which the watchers on the Charlestown shore should "know that the British were going by water."

Meanwhile, impatient to mount and ride,
Booted and spurred, with a heavy stride,
On the opposite shore walked Paul Revere.

"When I got into town," continues Paul Revere, "I met Colonel Conant and several others, who told me they had seen the signal. I told them what was acting, and went to get me a horse. I got a horse of Deacon Larkin. While the horse was preparing, Richard Devens, one of the committee of safety, came to me and told me that he came down the road from Lexington that evening, after sundown, and that he met ten British officers, all well mounted and armed, going up the road.

"I set off upon a very good horse; it was then about eleven o'clock and very pleasant. After I had passed Charlestown neck and got about opposite where Mark was hung in chains, I saw two men on horseback under a tree, whom I discovered were British officers. One tried to get ahead of me and the other to take me. I turned my horse very quick and galloped toward Charlestown neck, and then pushed for the Medford road. The one who chased me, endeavoring to cut me off, got into a clay pond. I got clear of him and went through Medford over the bridge.

"In Medford I awakened the captain of the minute-men, and after that I alarmed almost every house till I got to Lexington. In Lexington I was joined by a Mr. Dawes and Dr. Prescott. We rode towards Concord alarming the people. After proceeding nearly half way, the Dr. and Mr. Dawes had stopped to alarm the people in a house, and I was about one hundred rods ahead, when I saw two men in nearly the same situation as those officers were near Charlestown. I called for the Doctor and Mr. Dawes to come up, when in an instant I was

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surrounded by four. They had placed themselves in a straight road that inclined each way, and had taken down a pair of bars on the north side of the road where two of them were under a tree in the pasture. We tried to get past them, but they, being armed with pistols and swords, forced us into the pasture. The Doctor jumped his horse over a low stone wall and got to Concord. I observed a wood at a small distance and made for that. When I got there, out started six officers on horseback and ordered me to dismount. One of them, who appeared to have the command, examined me, where I came from and what my name was. I told him. He asked me if I was an express. I answered in the affirmative. He demanded what time I left Boston. I told him, and added that their troops had catched aground in passing the river and that there would be five hundred Americans there in a short time, for I had alarmed the country all the way up.

"He immediately rode toward those who stopped us, when all five of them came down on a full gallop. One of them, whom I afterwards found to be Major Mitchel of the Fifth Regiment, clapped his pistol to my head, called me by name, and told me if I did not give true answers to his questions he would blow my brains out. He asked me questions similar to the others and, after searching me for arms, ordered me to mount and proceed in front of them. After riding a little way, he ordered a sergeant to ride beside me, and told him to blow my brains out if I attempted to run.

"We rode till we got near Lexington meeting-house, when the militia fired a volley of guns, which appeared to alarm them very much. The major inquired of me how far it was to Cambridge and if there were any other road. He then rode up to the sergeant and asked him if his horse was tired. (He was a sergeant of Grenadiers, and had a small horse). He answered him he was. 'Then,' said he, 'take that man's horse.' I dismounted, and the sergeant took my horse, when they left me and all rode towards Lexington meeting-house.

"I went across the burying ground and some pastures and came to the Rev. Mr. Clark's house, where I found Messrs. Hancock and Adams. I went with Mr. Lowell, a clerk to Mr. Hancock, to the tavern to get a trunk of papers. On the way we met a man at full gallop, who said the British were coming up the rocks. We went up chamber, and while we were getting the trunk we saw the British very near upon a full march. We hurried towards Mr. Clark's house. On our way we passed through the militia. They were about fifty. When we had got about one hundred yards from the meeting-house the British troops appeared on both sides of it. In their front was an officer on horseback. They made a short halt, when I saw and heard a gun fired which appeared to be a pistol. Then I could distinguish two guns, and then a continual volley of musquetry; when we made off with the trunk." Revere concludes his letter with some charges and information against Church, who proved to be a traitor in the continental congress.

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Colonel Paul Revere took part in many military enterprises during the Revolution, and rose from the rank of second lieutenant to that of lieutenant-colonel. In the Penobscot expedition, the most disastrous expedition sent out from Boston during the war, Colonel Revere commanded the artillery. He was an artificer—for the most part self-taught—in many trades. He cast bells, some of which are still hanging in church steeples; and cannon, now widely scattered as the spoils of war. In 1805 a bell was placed in the steeple of the new North church in Boston, weighing one thousand three hundred pounds, and costing eight hundred dollars from the foundry of Paul Revere. There are still in existence many products of his skill as a silversmith and graver. He also produced a large number of engravings and caricatures. There is now a colored engraving of the Boston massacre "Engraved, printed and sold by Paul Revere," in the possession of the Connecticut Historical Society; and Revere's agreement for engraving and printing the paper money of the continental congress, dated December 8, 1778, is still preserved in the Massachusetts archives.

THE BOSTON MASSACRE.

When it was discovered by the British authorities that the signals which aroused the Americans were made from Christ church, "a search was immediately set afoot for the rebel who made them." The sexton, Robert Newman, was suspected and

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arrested, but he protested his innocence, and declared that the keys were demanded of him at a late hour that night by Captain Pulling, who, being a vestryman, he thought had a right to them. Meantime Pulling had been warned by friends, that he had better leave town as soon as possible with his family, and this he did, disguised as a laborer, on board a small craft loaded with beer for the men-of-war in the harbor. Mr. Pulling and his family were put ashore at Nantasket, where they lived in want until the siege was raised, only to find their property all destroyed.

An attempt has been made to set up a claim that the sexton Newman hung out the lanterns, but it is altogether improbable, even if there were no evidence, that Paul Revere would have entrusted this hazardous enterprise to a stranger, after swearing on the Bible not to discover the transactions of the committee but to certain trusty men. Another claim has been made that Richard Devens was the "friend" who hung out the lanterns; but Revere himself says, in his letter, that when he reached Charlestown, Devens came to him and told him of meeting British officers that evening on the Lexington road. As the lanterns had only just been hung out at that time, it is manifestly impossible that Devens was the person who made the signal. It is generally admitted that Captain Pulling was the man.

It has also been claimed that the North meeting-house, and not Christ church, was the place from which the signal was made; but this claim is absurd, as the North meeting-house had no steeple, and a light could not have been seen from it, while Christ church (then known as the "North church") stood on high ground directly across the Charles river from Charlestown and had a very tall spire. A tablet has since been placed in Christ church bearing this inscription: "The signal lanterns of Paul Revere displayed in the steeple of this church April 18, 1775, warned the country of the march of the British troops to Lexington and Concord."

HOWARD ALDEN GIDDINGS.

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John Pintard

ODE FOR THE COLUMBIAN CELEBRATION OF 1792.

I.

Crown'd with auspicious light,
Columbia's Eagle, rise!
Thine emblems bless our sight,
Their honors greet our eyes.
Nations admire thy rising dawn, and shall salute thy day,
While generations yet unborn receive the genial ray.
An empire's born! Let cannon roar,
Bid Echo rend the sky;
Let ev'ry heart adore
High heaven our great ally.

II.

Illustrious era, hail!
Thy stars in union grow,
Opposing mists dispel,
And with fresh splendor glow.
Thy glories burst upon the gloom, where darkness dragg'd her chain;
The sons of cruelty and death shall own thy gentle reign.

Chorus.

III.

Let joyous hearts engage,
Let foul contention cease;

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Exchange for jealous rage
Th' enrapturing smile of peace.
No genius human e'er devis'd a Fed'ral plan more pure,
Wisdom and strength and freedom guard Columbia's rights secure.
Chorus.

IV.

Now, Fame, exert your pow'rs,
Your silver trumpets raise;
A Washington is ours;
Thro' earth resound his praise;
He once in crimson fields of blood forbade us to be slaves;
Again, with an illustrious band, once more his country saves.
Chorus.

V.

Discord aghast shall frown,
Science her temple rear;
Labor insure her crown,
And useful arts appear.
Then beat your spears to pruning hooks, break up the generous soil,
While fruits of plenty round the land reward the reaper's toil.
Chorus.

VI.

Commerce! your sails display,
While Agriculture sings;
Where late the bramble lay
The rose of beauty springs.
Union shall glad revolving years, no partial views remain;
Justice aloft advance her scale, and public virtue reign.
A nation's born! let cannon roar,
Bid Echo rend the sky;
Let ev'ry heart adore
High heaven our great ally.[1]

[1] This interesting poetical relic is copied from the original manuscript in the handwriting of its author, John Pintard (1759-1844), principal founder of the New York Historical Society, and a citizen who was conspicuous in promoting the interests of the community in which he was so prominent, and in which he lived for fourscore and five years. His uncle, Lewis Pintard (1732-1818), was among the great merchants of New York and was one of the incorporators of the Chamber of Commerce. During the Revolutionary war, Mr. Pintard acted as the agent for American prisoners, and administered the scanty funds that Congress was able to supply toward mitigating their sufferings with fidelity and economy, for which he received the thanks of General Washington. The original document is in the possession of Mr. E. P. Servoss, a grandson of John Pintard.

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THE FIRST ATTEMPT TO FOUND AN AMERICAN COLLEGE.

SCATTERED through the records of the Virginia Company, of London, which received its first charter from King James I. in 1606, and was dissolved by order of the same king in 1624, there is a number of references to the founding and endowment of a college at Henrico, one of the settlements on the James river in Virginia; and as the effort there made was perhaps the first attempt to provide an institution of higher learning within the present bounds of the United States, it may be of interest to have these scattered notices gathered together, and the history of that movement reconstructed so far as the fragmentary accounts will allow.

The first official notice of this college comes from the hand of the king himself. In the year 1617 James wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury authorizing him to send letters to the English bishops giving order that "collections be made in the particular parishes four severall tymes within these two years next coming," and that the moneys thus collected should be transmitted half-yearly to the treasurer of the Virginia Company, "to be employed for the Godly purposes intended and no other." According to the treasurer's report, given May 26, 1619, these collections had then amounted to one thousand five hundred pounds or thereabouts.

In the meanwhile (November 18, 1618) the Virginia Company had given ten thousand acres of ground "for the endowing of said University and Colledge with convenient possessions." This land was partly within the territory of Henrico, where the buildings were to be erected, and partly farther up the river, a little below the present site of Richmond. During the same year the charge of the college was offered to the Rev. Thomas Larkin, who thus expresses himself in one of his letters: "A good friend of mine propounded to me within three or four days a condition of going over to Virginia, where the Virginia Company means to erect a college, and undertakes to procure me good assurance of two hundred pounds a year and better, and if I should find there any ground of dislike, liberty to return at pleasure. I assure you I find preferment coming on so slowly here at home, as makes me much incline to accept it." He determined, however, to "do nothing rashly," and he never came.

The prospects of the college during the next three years (1619–1621) seemed to be constantly growing brighter.

On May 26, 1619, when the treasurer reported the amount of the collections above referred to, it was decided by the company that they should not at once "build a Colledge, but rather forbeare a while, and begin first with monees they have to provide and settle an Annuall revenue, and out of that to begin the

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ereccon of the said Colledge." It being "a waighty busines," a committee of seven choice gentlemen was appointed. One month later (June 24, 1619) their report was given, the substance of which was that fifty "single men, unmarried," were to be sent out and settled on the college land, "to have halfe the benefitt of their labors, and the other halfe to goe in getting forward the worke and for mayntenance of the Tutors and Schollers." These "single men, unmarried," were to be "smiths, carpenters, brick-layers, turners, potters, husbandmen, brick-makers." A minister was to be "entertained" at the yearly allowance of forty pounds, and there was also to be a captain to have charge of the people on the college land, for it was situated in the wilderness, almost surrounded by Indian tribes. The ship carrying these men was "to sett out soon after the middest of July at the furthest, that by the blessing of God they may arrive there by the end of October." Toward the end of that year Sir Edwin Sandys, who was thoroughly acquainted with Virginia, proposed that the next spring the number of men on the college land be increased by one hundred, estimating that the hundred men thus added, being rightly employed, would not yield less in value than one thousand pounds yearly revenue.

On June 21, 1619, an unknown person, evidently of high church tendencies, presented to this frontier college, "A Communion Cup with a cover and vase, a Trencher plate for the bread, a Carpett of crimson velvett, and a Linnen Damaske table cloth." The next year (February 20, 1620) another unknown person left the college a legacy of five hundred pounds. On the 15th of November of the same year, "a straunger stept in presentinge a Mapp of Sir Walter Rawlighes contayninge a Descripcon of Guiana, and with the same fower great books as the Guift of one unto the Company that desyrd his name might not be made knowne, whereof one booke was a treatise of St. Augustine of the Citty of God translated into English, and the other three great Volumes wer the works of Mr. Perkins newlie corrected and amended, wch books the Donor desyred they might be sent to the Colledge in Virginia, there to remayne in saftie to the use of the collegiates."

During this same year two large amounts of money came to the college; the first, of five hundred and fifty pounds in gold, "for the bringinge upp of Children of the Infidles, first in ye knowledge of God & true religion & next in fitt trades whereby honestly to live"—evidently given by one who knew where it was necessary to begin in this fine scheme for the higher education; and the other a sum of three hundred pounds "for the Colledge in Virginia to be paid when there shel be tenn of the Infidles Children placed in itt." The same year also the Rev. Thomas Bargrave of Virginia died, leaving to the college his library, valued at about seventy pounds.

These various gifts and bequests show that the proposed college was generally known and excited considerable interest at the time. The conversion of the Indians was one of the popular enthusiasms, and no small part of the apparent success of the

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plan for a college is due to the sentimental interest taken in the "infidel children of the forest." This was soon, however, to receive a rude shock. In the spring of 1622 the news reached England of the great massacre of March 22d, which fell so suddenly and so terribly on the Virginia plantation, when along with many other settlements the little palisaded village of Henrico, the place chosen as the site of the proposed university, was utterly destroyed.

Nevertheless, the plan for a college was not yet abandoned. The very letter which contained the famous Virginia scheme of Indian extermination for the sake of revenge contained also directions for the ordering and resettling of the college tenants, who, henceforth, were to be left to their own disposing and government, and that they might "reduce the uncertaintie of halfe to the certaintie of a Rent, we have therefore agreed shal be every pson twenty bushells of corne; 60 waight of good leafe tobacco, and one pound of silke to be yearly paid together with six dayes labors;" and, furthermore, "as for the Brick-makers we desire they may be held to their contract made with Mr. Thorpe, to the intent that when opportunitie shal be for the erecting of the fabricke of the Colledge the materialls be not wanting."

But the end was drawing near. The next year (1623) the company fell still more into disfavor with the king, and on June 16, 1624, their charter was declared to be null and void. The last notice relating to the college is under date of June 18, 1623: "Edward Downes peticoned that his son Richard Downes havinge continued in Virginia these 4 yeares and being bred a schollar went over in hope of preferment in the Colledge there; might now be free to livet here of himselfe and have fifty acres of land to plant upon. The Court conceaving his suite to be verie reasonable have recomended the graunt thereof to the next Quarter Court."

Nothing more is known of this first attempt to found a college on American soil. By the wreck of the Virginia Company, which acted as its trustee, it lost possession of its extensive lands, and the thousands of pounds which had been so freely bestowed upon it by way of endowment; nor is there any trace of what became of the communion set with its "carpett of crimson velvett," nor the curious "Mapp of Guianes," nor the "three great Volumes" of Mr. Perkins, and the library of the Rev. Thomas Bargrave.

Yet had it had not been for the wrath of King James, who hated the policy pursued by the Virginia Company, this college might to-day be the most venerable of American universities, thirteen years older than Harvard; founded, indeed, before the Mayflower had yet set sail for her voyage to Plymouth Bay.

WM. ARMITAGE BEARDSLEE.

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ORIGINAL DOCUMENT

GEORGE III.'S PROCLAMATION AGAINST THE REBELS OF AMERICA.[1]

ABOUT the time that this proclamation was sent forth, King George III. had received much provocation to such an act. The, to him, entirely reasonable and proper measure for raising revenue for paying off the debt of a war waged to deliver the colonies from the ravages of French and Indians, had been met with the most determined, universal, and persistent opposition. The stamp act had to be repealed, so invulnerable was this sentiment of the colonists. A very practical and "home-reaching" feature of this stubborn antagonism to the parliamentary device had been the non-importation agreements. No doubt the king had looked on in amazement and anger when the colonial merchants dared thus to conspire to interfere with the conduct of trade, and to presume to forbid those of the mother country to send their wares to America. But whether it was daring or presumption, or not, the effectiveness of that stand was undoubted; and a little more firmness or a more general fidelity to the policy all along the line of the colonial seaports might have secured many concessions afterward to be secured only by bloodshed.

When the stamp-act agitation had blown over and the non-importation agreements were no more, there came the trouble with tea. It seemed a small matter for the Americans to exercise their audacity about; but that audacity was manifested, became in the course of events painfully patent to king and cabinet and people. When the king said that the colonies should receive the tea-ships, the last word in the matter had not yet been heard. The tea-ships had yet to make their appearance in Boston, New York, Charleston harbors; they did, but the tea did not get a landing in either of those ports. Some frolic, some violence, some rough-shod riding over the feelings of sea-captains and naval and customs officers there were; but the design and the will of British authorities were frustrated and the march toward rebellion went bravely on.

Non-importation agreements, tea-parties, brawls on Boston's Common or New York's Golden Hill, finally resolved themselves into action more dignified and regular, and in the summer of 1774 the first continental congress met. It was just twenty years since the Albany conference of 1754 Then had Benjamin Franklin labored to effect a plan of union for all the colonies, and it had been ma-

[1] One of the original broadsides upon which the above proclamation was printed is preserved in the Boston Public Library, and a fac-simile of it was published in its bulletin for October, 1892. By the courtesy of the librarian, Mr. Theodore F. Dwight, a copy of this fac-simile appears on another page.

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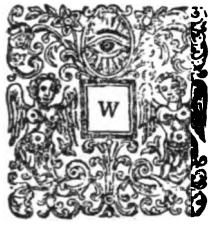
By the KING,

A PROCLAMATION,

For suppressing Rebellion and Sedition.

GEORGE R.



WHEREAS many of Our Subjects in divers Parts of Our Colonies and Plantations in *North America*, misled by dangerous and ill-designing Men, and forgetting the Allegiance which they owe to the Power that has protected and sustained them, after various disorderly Acts committed in Disturbance of the Publick Peace, to the Obstruction of lawful Commerce, and to the Oppression of Our loyal Subjects carrying on the same, have at length proceeded to an open and avowed Rebellion, by arraying themselves in hostile Manner to withstand the Execution of the Law, and traitorously preparing, ordering, and levying War against Us; And whereas there is Reason to apprehend that such Rebellion hath been much promoted and encouraged by the traitorous Correspondence, Counsels, and Comfort of divers wicked and desperate Persons within this Realm: To the End therefore that none of Our Subjects may neglect or violate their Duty through Ignorance thereof, or through any Doubt of the Protection which the Law will afford to their Loyalty and Zeal; We have thought fit, by and with the Advice of Our Privy Council, to issue this Our Royal Proclamation, hereby declaring that not only all Our Officers Civil and Military are obliged to exert their utmost Endeavours to suppress such Rebellion, and to bring the Traitors to Justice; but that all Our Subjects of this Realm and the Dominions thereunto belonging are bound by Law to be aiding and assisting in the Suppression of such Rebellion, and to disclose and make known all traitorous Conspiracies and Attempts against Us, Our Crown and Dignity; And We do accordingly strictly charge and command all Our Officers as well Civil as Military, and all other Our obedient and loyal Subjects, to use their utmost Endeavours to withstand and suppress such Rebellion, and to disclose and make known all Treasons and traitorous Conspiracies which they shall know to be against Us, Our Crown and Dignity; and for that Purpose, that they transmit to One of Our Principal Secretaries of State, or other proper Officer, due and full Information of all Persons who shall be found carrying on Correspondence with, or in any Manner or Degree aiding or abetting the Persons now in open Arms and Rebellion against Our Government within any of Our Colonies and Plantations in *North America*, in order to bring to condign Punishment the Authors, Perpetrators, and Abettors of such traitorous Designs.

Given at Our Court at St. *James's*, the Twenty-third Day of *August*, One thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, in the Fifteenth Year of Our Reign.

God save the King.

LONDON:
Printed by *Charles Eyre* and *William Strahan*, Printers to the King's most Excellent Majesty. 1775.

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tured and adopted by the delegates; but when it was submitted to the authorities in England and to their colonial constituent, it met with a double-edged opposition which proved its death blow. The king and his ministers thought the plan gave too much liberty to the colonies, and the colonies feared that it placed too much power in the hands of the king. The fact of union, on whatever plan, had now shown itself so indespensable to the colonies, that delegates were elected to the congress of 1774 to deliberate on the common defence, and to concoct a scheme for a common government. There was as yet no renouncing of royal authority, but the royal will or wish was of exceeding little account in any measures the congress might adopt. And hence it was with no friendly eye that George III. contemplated the congress. Its meeting was a distinct element inthe accumulating provocation.

But defiance went further. Besides the general congress there were provincial congresses, meeting in the place of royal councils and provincial assemblies of the old regime. In November, 1774, Earl Percy, afterward to win some note on the disastrous day of Lexington, wrote home to his friends in England, from Boston: "The Provincial Congress I find met again yesterday, and I am informed they mean to proceed to the choice of a new Govr. They have already raised an Army, seized the Publick Money, and have taken on themselves all the Powers of Government." Surely the march toward rebellion was proceeding at a quickstep pace. To a man of the temperament of George III. it was all surpassingly exasperating; it was getting to be more than he could bear.

The next step could only be the breaking out of actual hostilities, the arraying of force against force, the clash of arms, and the spilling of blood of embattled hosts. And that too came. The soldiers of George III. and the colonial militia, or rather the patriot trainbands, looked into each other's faces at Lexington for the first time; and the snapping of the British major's pistol, on their refusal to lay down their arms at his behest, began the armed contest and was the first alarum of war. At Concord there was a return of volleys, and then all the way from Concord, back through Lexington to Boston, war raged fiercely and disastrously on that first day of revolutionary war. To George III. it was the outbreak of armed rebellion after the rebellion of the years that went before, which had found expression only in mutinous speech, or sudden brawls, or legislative deliberations.

But he was yet to learn of Bunker Hill, and the assumption of all the forms and rights of a national being independent of the mother country. The challenge of war was boldly accepted, and an American commander-in-chief appeared opposite Boston, and cooped up the royal troops within it by regular leagues. And all this had time to travel across the ocean, and to stir up the mind of the would-be despot to deepest wrath before August 23. Then he poured forth his troubled soul, exasperated beyond all bounds against his rebellious subjects, in the proclamation, which was printed as a broadside, and scattered throughout the colonies.

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We must observe the philosophical exhortation "to put ourselves in his place"—which is at the same time the scientifically historic attitude—to appreciate the terms of this proclamation. From the king's standpoint England was "the Power that has [had] protected and sustained" the colonies. Surely they could have got along without much of that protection; and the sustaining did not reach their commercial or manufacturing development to any great extent. Their real prosperity, their rights as political integers, were serenely ignored or even trampled upon, to advance or protect the commerce and manufactures of the mother country. This had been the deliberate policy of a century and over, and allegiance based on a gratitude for protection, and sustaining which had itself such slender ground to stand upon, could not be expected to be very firm. But [again from the king's standpoint] when this protection was repaid by their "arraying themselves in hostile Manner to withstand the Execution of the Law, and traitorously preparing, ordering, and levying War," no wonder that it seemed high time to pronounce summary sentence and denunciation in the form of this proclamation.

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After the Surrender of Burgoyne.

Abundant testimony exists that the American army, from the highest officer to the meanest private, bore themselves with becoming self-restraint at the surrender of Burgoyne's army. They were happy and proud, but did not insult their fallen foe by any offensive exhibition of undue exultation. But as so often happens in such cases, when the political authorities interfered their behavior was not so commendable. In the first place, quite outside the provisions of the convention between Gates and Burgoyne, Congress demanded that the latter should draw up a minutely descriptive list of all his officers and soldiers, so that if any of them should afterward be found fighting against the United States, they might be charged with that breach of faith. It was a severe reflection on soldiers' honor. Burgoyne complied with the demand, but protested that this itself was a breach of faith. So little did the politicians appreciate the temper of a soldier, however, that Congress made this natural outburst the pretext for a still greater wrong on their part. They insisted that the convention of Saratoga must be distinctly ratified by the court of Great Britain before they would allow its provisions to be carried out. As this could not be done without recognizing the independence of the United States, and thus at once giving up the conflict, Great Britain could not be expected to comply, nor can it be that Congress itself could have expected that she would.

"The captured army was never sent home," continues Professor John Fiske, who characterizes this dishonorable conduct of our Congress with deserved severity. "The officers were treated as prisoners of war, and from time to time were exchanged. Burgoyne was allowed to go to England in the spring [of 1778], and while still a prisoner on parole he took his seat in Parliament, and became conspicuous among the defenders of the American cause. The troops were detained in the neighborhood of Boston until the autumn of 1778, when they were all transferred to Charlottesville, Virginia. Here a rude village was built on the brow of a pleasant ridge of hills, and gardens were laid out and planted. Much kind assistance was rendered in all this work by Thomas Jefferson, who was then living close by, on his estate at Monticello, and did everything in his power to make things comfortable for soldiers and officers.

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Two years afterward, when Virginia became the seat of war, some of them were removed to Winchester, in the Shenandoah valley; to Frederick, in Maryland, and to Lancaster in Pennsylvania. Those who wished to return to Europe were exchanged or allowed to escape. The greater number, especially of the Germans, preferred to stay in this country and become American citizens. Before the end of 1783 they had dispersed in all directions."

In the Boston Public Library are preserved the original paroles of honor of the officers of the British and Hessian forces after the surrender at Saratoga, in October, 1777, and headed by Generals Burgoyne and Riedesel. It will be remembered that the surrendered forces were cantoned at Cambridge, where the paroles were dated December 13, 1777. This remarkable document was presented by the late John Wingate Thornton to the Boston Sanitary Fair, in 1864, on condition that it should be sold for not less than $1,000, and that the purchaser should give it to the public library. It was presented to Mr. Thornton by a grandson of Major-General Heath. The canton included parts of Cambridge, Watertown. Medford, and Charlestown, until the surrendered forces were removed to Charlottesville, Virginia, by order of Congress. The British parole is signed by one hundred and eighty-five officers, and is in three columns, nearly four feet long and two and three-quarters feet wide; the Hessian parole is signed by ninety-five officers, is two and three-quarters feet long, and a trifle over a foot in width.

A Columbus Celebration In 1792.

The following extract from the *Mail, or Claypole's Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, Wednesday, August 22, 1792, was sent by Mr. Edward F. DeLancy, corresponding secretary of the New York Historical Society, to Mr. Henry F. Thompson, Baltimore, and was read by him before the Maryland Historical Society. It has reference to a Columbus celebration in 1792:

A LETTER RECEIVED FROM BALTIMORE, DATED AUGUST 17, 1792.

We are informed by a correspondent, that on Friday, the third day of this month, being the anniversary of the departure of Christopher Columbus from Spain, for the voyage in which he discovered this new World, and that day closing the third century and secular year of the event that led to that great discovery, the corner stone of an obelisk, to honour the memory of the immortal man, was laid in a grove in one of the gardens of a villa "Belmont," the country seat of the Chevalier d'Amnour, near this town. He adds that suitable inscriptions, on metal tables, are to be affixed to its pedestal, on the twelfth of next October, the anniversary of the day on which he, for the first time, saw the land he so eagerly was in quest of; the same day closing also the third century and secular year of that important epocha of the annals of this Globe. He remarks that in none of the countries that have so much benefitted by the discovery of this almost half of the earth, no monuments of public or private veneration have been raised to his memory by deserved gratitude: and that great man, towards whom his contemporaries were unjust, even to cruelty, has not yet obtained from time and posterity, the reward they never fail to grant to real virtue and useful merit.

Our correspondent, however, congratulates this Country on having, for some years past, taken the first step to restore him part of the honours due to his name. There are in the United States, districts of Columbia, counties

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of Columbia, towns of Columbia, colleges of Columbia, &c., &c., &c. Some future State, he hopes, will also be called by that name; and he observes that it is often employed by the Columbian favourites of the muses, in their poetical performances. This leads him to believe, or at least to hope, that the time is approaching when universal justice will be done to the man, whose courage, fortitude and talents place him among the first heroes of modern times; and to whom, in ancient Rome, and still more in ancient Greece, public respect and gratitude would have dedicated statues, temples, altars, and public solemnities.

He also observes that the nominal day of the week on which Columbus sailed from Spain, and the same also which crowned his enterprise by the discovery of the land, terminates the secular year of the third century of these two events; and that it is the same nominal day (viz. Friday) which the superstition of many modern navigators makes them believe ominous; and prevents them from sailing on that day, often to the prejudice of their owners, or other parties concerned.

(Charles Francis Adrian Le Paulmier d'Amnour, Chevalier, &c., was appointed Consul of H. M. C. Majesty at Baltimore, October 27, 1778, and Consul General, September 13, 1783.)

* * *

Traditions of Major Andre

The eastern part of Long Island, New York, was free from the horrors of war during the Revolution, yet nowhere in the colonies were the daily lives of residents more influenced by British control. The island was in the hands of the enemy most of the Revolutionary period, and in various places English soldiers were stationed. It was their duty to command obedience to the laws of King George, but it was often their pleasure to make concessions while enforcing the same. Many times this course was taken in appreciation of personal attentions which were received from American people in whose homes they were intruders. Thus, when a detachment of the British army was in East Hampton, Sir Henry Clinton, Sir William Erskine, Adjutant-General André, and Lord Percy enjoyed social intercourse with such patriotic characters as Priest Buell, the Gardiners, the Wyckhams, and other resident families. Differences of political sentiments were not allowed to interfere with an interchange of courtesies, thus alleviating many annoyances that were beyond the power of either party to avert.

An incident connected with André's sojourn in this village during September, 1780, but three weeks before his tragic death, accords with all that is pathetic in the career of this accomplished young officer. One evening, while in the midst of a convivial gathering of rebels and loyalists at the house of Col. Abraham Gardiner, where André was quartered, the company was annoyed by hearing various mysterious sounds. The house stood where is now the residence of J. T. Gardiner, which was built by President Tyler, who spent his summers in the quaint town with his beautiful wife, who had been Miss Julia Gardiner, of Gardiner's Island. Comments were made and a shade of gloom was cast over the guests. Perhaps the "dark day," which occurred in the month of May previous, made even strong-minded folks apprehensive of things grewsome or weird. Be this as it may, unaccountable noises disturbed the nerves of sensitive people sometimes, at that time as at the present. It was

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observed that Major André in particular was thus affected. He withdrew from the room to one which was vacant, and sat for a long time wrapt in silence and reflection. He was urged to return, and rallied as to his dejected countenance, but finding that he could not be diverted, his friends made many solicitous inquiries. The burden of his replies was: "These sounds are meant for me. I am fated. I shall always be unfortunate."

The scheme of betraying West Point into the hands of the English had at this time been devised by Benedict Arnold. Sir Henry Clinton was in secret communication with his aide regarding its accomplishment, and doubtless Adjutant André at this time was seriously meditating the dangerous undertaking, for a few days after he went to New York, and received orders from General Clinton to proceed with the business. Between this date and October 2, 1780, the over-zealous André had caused the failure of the plot, and disgrace, arrest, trial, sentence, and execution quickly ended this drama of real life.

It may be conjectured that those satirical verses on American officers called "The Cow Chase," of which André was the author, were written while in East Hampton. The last canto was published on the day of his capture. No doubt some idle moments in that quiet and pastoral spot were thus enlivened, and we may well wish that this unfortunate young man had never attempted a more harmful project than the sobriquet "Mad Anthony" for General Wayne, which had its origin in these verses.

Another tradition blends aptly with the former. Dr. Nathaniel Gardiner, son of Colonel Abraham Gardiner, was a young surgeon in the American army. He was at home visiting his family, and being in the house with British officers made him liable to arrest as a spy, and, besides, East Hampton was within the British lines. His parents tried to keep from the enemy the knowledge of their son's presence, but soon it was apparent that André had discovered the secret, who remained, however, magnanimously indifferent to household affairs. After the departure of young Gardiner, André expressed the wish that circumstances might have been so as to have favored an acquaintance. Under the saddest surroundings was this fulfilled. Dr. Gardiner was one of the guard the night before his execution, and with no great stretch of imagination we may suppose these two young men to have conversed. On this same evening André made a pen-and-ink sketch of himself which he gave to an American acquaintance. It is not improbable that his companion was permitted to look at the lovely features of Honore Syned, which from memory he had painted in minature, which had been successfully hidden when he was searched by his captors. A niece of Dr. Gardiner vividly remembers hearing these stories in her youth. Such traditions are fascinating. They should be hoarded and treasured in memory, and be as cautiously preserved for inspection as rare laces, old china, and old Bibles. Few localities are more fraught with such charms than the "Hamptons" of Long Island, nor are there many colonial families richer in such lore than those of the name of Gardiner.

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Dutch Medals of the American Revolution.

Some interesting Dutch medals commemorating the revolution are preserved in the Royal Museum at The Hague Holland. By reason of their interest to the citizens of the United States, our Minister Plenipotentiary there, Samuel R. Thayer, Esq., requested and was courteously granted permission to have copies of each medal struck off in zinc. These he sent to the Department of State at Washington, D. C., accompanied with a despatch to Secretary Blaine, giving an historical and descriptive account of each medal, and asking the privilege of presenting one set to the department, and one to each of several historical societies of the country. The description of them, as cited from the despatch to the State Department, is as follows:

I. "The first medal in the series referred to was designed to commemorate the recognition of American Independence by the Province of Friesland on the 26th of February, 1782, a description of which is as follows: On the obverse side is a male figure personating a Frisian in ancient costume, joining right hands with an American, represented by a maiden in aboriginal dress, standing on a sceptre with her left hand resting on a shield bearing the inscription [in Dutch]: 'The United States of North America'; while with his left hand the Frisian signals his rejection of an olive branch offered by a Briton, represented by a maiden accompanied by a tiger, the left hand of the maiden resting on a shield having the inscription: 'Great Britain.' On the reverse side is the figure of an arm projecting from the clouds holding the coat of arms of the province of Friesland, under which is the inscription [in Dutch]: 'To the States of Friesland in grateful recognition of the Acts of the Assembly, in February and April, 1782, by the Citizens' Club of Leeuwarden. *Liberty and Zeal.*' " II. "The second medal in the series was struck off by order of the States General in commemoration of its recognition of the Independence of the United States. On the obverse side of the medal will be found the United States and the Netherlands, represented by two maidens equipped for war, with right hands joined over a burning altar. The Dutch maiden is placing an emblem of freedom on the head of the American, whose right foot, attached to a broken chain, rests on England, represented by a tiger. In the field of the medal are the words: 'Libera Soror. Solemni Decr. Agn. 19 Apr. MDCCLXXXII.' On the reverse side is the figure of a unicorn lying prostrate before a steep rock against which he has broken his horn; over the figure are the words: 'Tyrannis virtute repulsa,' and underneath the same the words: 'Sub Galliæ auspiciis.' " III. "The third medal in the series was made to commemorate the treaty of commerce and navigation entered into between the United States and the Netherlands the 7th of October, 1782. On its obverse side stands in relief a monumental needle bearing the Amsterdam coat of arms, upon which a wreath is being placed by a figure representing Mercury; underneath the coat of arms is a parchment bearing the inscription: 'Pro. Dro. Mvs.'

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France, symbolized by a crowing cock, which stands beside the needle pointing with a conjurer's wand to a horn of plenty and an anchor. Over all are the words: 'Justitiam et non temnere divos.' On the reverse side is an image of Fame riding on a cloud and carrying the arms of the Netherlands and the United States, surmounted by a naval crown; the figures are covered by the following words: 'Faustissimo fœdere junctae Die VII. Octob MDCCLXXXII.'"

* * *

First Suggestion of Lincoln's Name for President.

There has been a great deal of good-natured banter about Ohio, within recent years, as to men from that State expecting to claim every honor or office within sight, after having furnished two successive Presidents of the United States. A voice from that direction has lately made itself heard, to the effect that it was an Ohio man who was the discoverer of Abraham Lincoln. In Mount Vernon, Ohio, there died not long ago Mr. Israel Green. He had built up a comfortable drug business at Findlay, Ohio, in the early fifties of this century, but was a keen observer of political events, as well as a capable judge of their drift and significance. He was not a politician himself, and not an office holder except to the extent of being a member of the State Legislature for one term. He was a man of independent mind, accustomed to think for himself, not taking his opinions at second-hand. With this bent of mind of the vigorous thinker, he had given himself over heart and soul to the anti-slavery cause. Consequently he had watched with eager zest the famous debates between Lincoln and Douglas. He had come to the conclusion from the study of these debates that Abraham Lincoln was a man not only of alertness and ability in controversy, but possessed of the more solid qualities of the statesman, and endued with the unflinching moral courage of the reformer. Mr. Green therefore became strongly convinced that Lincoln was the man to lead the hosts of anti-slavery to victory in the approaching presidential campaign. Accordingly, on November 6th, 1858, he wrote to the Cincinnati "Gazette," suggesting the name of Abraham Lincoln as presidential candidate. The letter was published in that journal, and appeared in its columns as follows:

A TICKET FOR 1860.

Correspondence of the Cincinnati *Gazette*.

FINDLAY, Ohio, Nov. 6, 1858.—Permit a daily reader of your valuable paper, residing in the Northwest, to suggest to the consideration of the triumphant and united opposition, the names of the following distinguished and patriotic statesmen as standard bearers in the approaching Presidential election:

For President,
ABRAHAM LINCOLN.
of Illinois.
Vice President,
JOHN P. KENNEDY
of Maryland.

There, sir, is a ticket that can command and receive the united support of the entire opposition. With the above ticket in the field, with a banner on which shall be inscribed union and harmony; protection to American capital and American labor, skill and enterprise; improvements of Western rivers and harbors; free labor and unrelenting opposition to the interference of the general government in favor of the spread of

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slavery; opposition to any further acquisition of foreign territory; to humbug squatter sovereignty; to the principles involved in the Dred Scott decision. Let us oppose the appointment to offices of profit of members of either branch of Congress during the term for which they shall be elected; oppose extravagance and favoritism in the public expenses, and favor a return to the early principles and practices of the founders of our government. Let us preserve the elective franchise pure and untarnished.

With such standard bearers and such a platform the great opposition or American Republican party can go before the people of the nation in 1860 with the full assurance of a triumphant victory over the present pro-slavery filibustering, border ruffian Democracy.

(Signed)

A MEMBER OF THE PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION IN 1856.

This is believed to have been the first public suggestion of President Lincoln's name, and for this Mr. Green deserves to be remembered with gratitude.

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THE NEW YORK
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Yours Sincerely
Elisha Gray

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AMERICAN INVENTORS.

ELISHA GRAY.

TWO things serve just at this time to bring even more prominently before the public than heretofore, one of the most noted of American inventors. One of these circumstances is the coming meeting of the "World's Congress of Electricians" in Chicago, and the other is the putting into practical operation of that wonderful adjunct to telegraphy, the "Telautograph," the latest invention of Elisha Gray.

The World's Congress of Electricians will assemble in the new Art Institute in Chicago on the 21st of August next, and will bring together the most noted electricians of all parts of the world. The Congress will be divided into two sections, one of which—termed the official section—will be composed of representatives, designated by the various governments of Europe and the Americas, and will be authorized to consider and pass upon questions relating to electrical measurements, nomenclature and various other matters of import to the electrical world. To the other section of the Congress will be admitted all professional electricians who come properly accredited, who will be permitted to attend the sessions and participate in the deliberations of the Congress, but will not be allowed to vote upon the technical questions coming before it.

A couple of years since, when it was determined that the convening of International Congresses of various kinds should be made one of the leading incidental features of the Columbian Exposition, a body which became known as the World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition was organized for the purpose of promoting and making all necessary preparations for these gatherings. To Prof. Elisha Gray of Chicago, this body assigned the task of organizing the Congress of Electricians and upon this renowned inventive genius has devolved the responsibility of formulating the plans and making all initiatory preparations for what will unquestionably be the most interesting and important convention of electricians ever held in this or in any other country. While Professor Gray has called to his assistance many distinguished members of his profession, by virtue of his official position he has been the central and most attractive figure in this great movement, and a sketch of his career has at this time a peculiar interest.

"Some men achieve greatness, some men are born great and some men are born in Ohio" is a saying attributed to Chauncey Depew in one of his clever after dinner speeches, and Elisha Gray belongs to the first and last mentioned classes. He was born near Barnesville, Belmont County, Ohio, August 2, 1835. His father, David Gray, a native of Pennsylvania, was of Scotch-Irish ancestry, and

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his mother a native of North Carolina—who before her marriage was Christiana Edgerton—was of English descent. His parents were Quakers, lived on a farm, and were, in what is termed, in rural communities, in moderate circumstances. When Elisha Gray was twelve years old, he had three or four terms of district schooling and the industrial training usually given to farm boys of his age and condition in life forty years ago, his father died, leaving him in large measure dependent upon his own resources for a living. At fourteen years of age he apprenticed himself to a blacksmith and partially mastered the trade, but was compelled to abandon it on account of his strength being overtaxed by the kind of labor he had to perform. Joining his mother, who had removed to Brownsville, Pennsylvania, he entered the employ of a boat builder of that place and served a three and a half years apprenticeship in learning the trade of ship joiner. At the end of that time he had developed into a first class mechanic and had given some evidence of inventive genius, but so meagre was the education which he had been able to obtain that he could do little more than experiment with simple contrivances, the construction of which did not require any scientific knowledge. The testimony of one who knew him intimately during this period of his life is, however, to the effect that he had a consciousness of his own resources, believed that nature had designed him to accomplish some important work in life, and that he thirsted for the knowledge which should open for him the way to intelligent research, investigation and effort.

While working as an apprentice, he formed the acquaintance of Prof. H. S. Bennett—now of Fisk University—then a student at Oberlin College, from whom he learned that at that institution exceptional opportunities were afforded to students for self-education, and immediately after he had completed his term of service he set out for the western college town, with barely enough money in his possession to carry him to his destination. He arrived in Oberlin in the summer of 1857 and at once went to work as a carpenter, supporting himself by this means during a five years' course of study in the college. As a student, he gave special attention to the physical sciences in which he was exceptionally proficient, his ingenuity being strikingly manifested from time to time in the construction of the apparatus used in class room experimentation, his cleverness in constructing these various appliances making him a conspicuous character among the students. While pursuing his college course he was not fully decided as to what profession he would take up, and at one time is said to have been slightly inclined to enter the ministry, but decided not to do so when his future mother-in-law jokingly remarked one day that it would be "a pity to spoil a good mechanic to make a poor minister." To this sage remark of a sensible woman the now famous inventor has sometimes declared himself to be, in a great measure, indebted for what he has since accomplished.

From 1857 to 1861 he devoted himself to unremitting toil and study and

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the result was that a naturally delicate constitution was unable to withstand the strain put upon it. In 1861, just when the future was beginning to open before him with a good deal of promise he was stricken with an illness from which he did not fully recover for five years. In 1862 he married Miss Delia M. Sheppard of Oberlin, and with a view to the betterment of his health, he devoted himself for a time to farming as an occupation. This experience was disappointing in both its financial results and its effect upon his health and he returned to his trade, working in Trumbull County, Ohio, until he was again prostrated by a serious illness. Following this came two or three years of struggle and privation, of alternate hope and disappointment, during which he experimented with various mechanical and electrical devices, but was prevented by his straightened circumstances from making any headway in profitable invention. Pressed by his necessities, he was once or twice on the point of giving up his researches and investigations entirely and devoting himself to some ordinary bread winning occupation, but he was stimulated to a continuance of his efforts in the field of invention by his faithful and devoted wife and her mother, both of whom had an abiding faith in his genius and aided him in his work with all the means at their command.

In 1867 a more prosperous era dawned upon him, with the invention of a self-adjusting telegraph relay, which although it proved of no practical value, served the purpose of introducing him to the late Gen. Anson Stager, of Cleveland, Ohio, then General Superintendent of the Western Union Telegraph Company, who at once became interested in him and furnished him facilities for experimenting on the Western Union lines. Forming a partnership with E. M. Barton in Cleveland, he engaged in the manufacture of electrical appliances, and while there invented the Dial Telegraph. In 1869 he removed to Chicago, where he continued the manufacture of electrical supplies, General Stager becoming associated with him. Here he perfected the Type-printing Telegraph, the Telegraphic Repeater, Telegraphic Switch, the Annunciator, and many other inventions which have become famous within the space of a few years. About 1872 he organized the Western Electric Manufacturing Company, which is still in existence and is said to be the largest establishment of its kind in the world.

In 1874 he retired from the superintendency of the Electric Company to begin his researches in telephony, and within two years thereafter gave to the world that marvelous product of human genius, the speaking telephone. Noting one day when a secondary coil was connected with the zinc lining of a bath tub—dry at the time—that when he held the other end of the coil in his left hand and rubbed the lining of the tub with his right, it gave rise to a sound that had the same pitch and quality as that of the vibrating contact breaker, he began a series of experiments which led first to the discovery that musical tones could be transmitted over an electric wire. Fitting up the necessary devices, he exhibited this invention to

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some of his friends and the same year went abroad, where he made a special study of acoustics and gave further exhibitions of the invention, which he developed into the harmonic or multiplex telegraph. While perfecting this device in 1875, the idea of the speaking telephone suggested itself, and in 1876 he perfected this invention and filed his caveat in the patent office at Washington. That another inventor succeeded by sharp practice in incorporating into his own application for a telegraph patent, an important feature of Professor Gray's invention, and that he was thereby deprived of the benefits which he should have derived therefrom, is the practically unanimous opinion of those well informed as to the merits of the controversy to which conflicting claims gave rise, and the leading scientists and scientific organizations of the world have accredited to him the honor of inventing the telephone. In recognition of his distinguished achievements, he was made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor at the close of the Paris Exposition of 1878 and American colleges have conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws and Doctor of Science.

For several years after his invention of the telephone he was connected with the Postal Telegraph Company and brought the lines of this system into Chicago, laying them underground. He also devised a general underground telegraph system for the city and then turned his attention to the invention of the "Telautograph," a device with which the general public is just now being made familiar, through the published accounts of its practical operation.

On the 21st day of March last the first exhibitions of the practical operation of this wonderful instrument were given simultaneously in New York and Chicago, and on the same day the first telautograph messages were passed over the wires between the towns of Highland Park and Waukegan, Illinois. The exhibitions were witnessed by a large number of electrical experts, scientists and representatives of the press, who were unanimous in the opinion that Professor Gray's invention is destined to bring about a revolution in telegraphy.

One of the beauties of electrical science is the expressiveness of its nomenclature, and among the many significant names given to electrical inventions none expresses more clearly the use and purpose of the invention to which it is applied than the term "telautograph." As its name signified the instrument is one which enables a person sitting at one end of a wire to write a message or a letter which is reproduced simultaneously in fac-simile at the other end of the wire. It is an instrument which takes the place of the skilled operator and the telegraphic alphabet. Any one who can write can transmit a message by this means, and the receiving instrument does its work perfectly without the aid of an operator. The sender of a message may be identified by the fac-simile of his handwriting which reaches the recipient and pen and ink portraits of persons may be as readily transmitted from one point to another as the written messages. In many respects the telautograph promises to be more satisfactory in its practical operations than the tel-

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ephone. Communications can be carried on between persons at a distance from each other with absolute secrecy and a message sent to a person in his absence from his place of business will be found awaiting him at his return. These and many other advantages which the telautograph seems to possess warrant the prediction that in the not very distant future telautography will supplant in a measure both telephony and telegraphy.

The transmitter and the receiver of the telautograph system are delicately constructed pieces of mechanism, each contained in a box somewhat smaller than a typewriter machine. The two machines are necessary at each end of a wire and stand side by side. In transmitting a message an ordinary feed lead pencil is used at the point of which is a small collar with two eyes in its rim. To each of these eyes a fine silk cord is attached, running off in two directions at right angles. Each of the two ends of this cord is carried around a small drum supported on a vertical shaft. Under the drum and attached to the same shaft is a toothed wheel of steel the teeth of which are so arranged that when either section of the cord winds upon or off of its drum a number of teeth will pass a given point corresponding to the length of cord so wound or unwound. For instance, if the point of the pencil moves in the direction of one of the cords a distance of one inch, forty of the teeth will pass any certain point. Each one of these teeth and each space represents one impulse sent upon the line, so that when the pencil describes a motion one inch in length eighty electrical impulses are sent on to the line.

The receiving instrument is practically a duplicate of the transmitter, the motions of which however are controlled by electrical mechanism.

The perfected device exhibited by Professor Gray and now in practical operation, is the result of six years of arduous labor, an evolution to which the crude contrivance used in his earliest experiments bears little resemblance. The manufacture of the instruments will be carried on by the Gray Electric Company, a corporation having offices in New York and Chicago and a large manufacturing establishment just outside the limits of the suburban village of Highland Park of which place Professor Gray has been for many years a resident. Here in addition to his workshop and laboratory the renowned inventor has a beautiful home, and his domestic relations are of the ideal kind.

The title by which Professor Gray has been known for many years came to him through his connection with Oberlin and Ripon (Wis.) Colleges as non-resident lecturer in physics, and his general appearance is that of the college professor or profound student. He has none of the eccentricities which are conspicuous characteristics of some of the great inventors of the age, and when not absorbed in his professional work is delightfully genial and companionable.

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EDWIN REYNOLDS.

DIVIDING American inventors into two classes, one class may be said to be the product of the schools and the other the product of the workshop. Both have contributed vastly to the development and progress of the age, but in the production of inventions of practical utility, the representatives of the shops have far surpassed the representatives of the schools.

Edwin Reynolds, whose business interests center in the city of Milwaukee, but whose reputation is national, belongs to the class of inventors educated in the workshop. A practical mechanic whose skill, ingenuity and capabilities have brought to him continually increasing responsibilities, it has been his habit to meet and master emergencies as they presented themselves; and the result has been the evolution of machinery, which has brought about a revolution in some departments of engineering practice.

For instance, some years since the Edward P. Allis Company, of which Mr. Reynolds is the mechanical head and general superintendent, was brought into active and somewhat bitter competition with another great establishment of similar character, in supplying the city of Milwaukee with pumping engines for water-works purposes.

To meet this competition, Mr. Reynolds suggested to the city authorities that the cost of a new pumping engine should be estimated on a commercial basis in awarding the contract for its construction; that is to say, he proposed that to the first cost of a machine which should be guaranteed to do a certain work, should be added the fuel cost of ten years operation, and the contract should be awarded to the manufacturer whose machine should thus be demonstrated to be the cheapest.

With this proposition agreed to, he set about constructing a machine, the operation of which could be sufficiently cheapened to effect a marked saving in the course of ten years. The result of his labors was the construction of the first Triple Expansion pumping engine ever designed for water-works purposes. The duty guaranteed for the machine was one hundred and fifteen million foot-pounds for each one hundred pounds of anthracite coal burned, and the work had to be done under what the most eminent engineers looked upon as an insurmountable difficulty, inasmuch as the city authorities only allowed a steam pressure of eighty pounds. With the almost unanimous opinion of engineering experts against him and with some misgivings on the part of his principals as to the practicability of his scheme, he proceeded quietly with his work and when the triple expansion pumping engine was completed and placed in position, an official test showed that it exceeded its guaranteed duty and it has since shown a duty of one hundred and twenty-seven million foot-pounds for each one hundred pounds of anthracite coal burned.

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Edwin Reynolds

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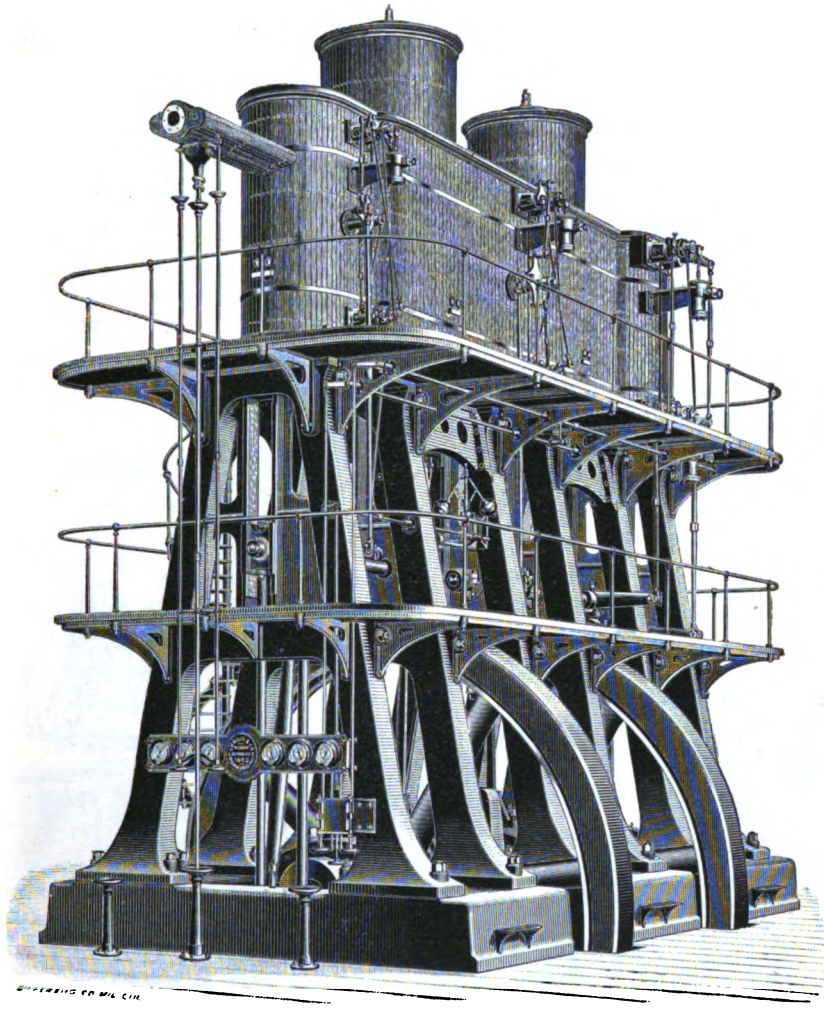

TRIPLE EXPANSION PUMPING ENGINE.

The saving in running expense effected through Mr. Reynold's invention in this instance, had enabled him to make a bid for the work of construction which gave him an easy victory over his competitors.

Since that time pumping engines of this type have been built and contracted for, for various cities in the United States, including Milwaukee, Chicago, Albany, N. Y., New Orleans, Winona, Minn., St. Paul, Minn., Detroit, Omaha, Brookline, Mass., and Taunton, Mass., with daily capacity of more than 200 million gallons.

A novel type of engine was devised by Mr. Reynolds to meet another emergency in Milwaukee. For several years a spirited controversy was carried on in the city as to the best means of purifying the Milwaukee River, into which a large propor-

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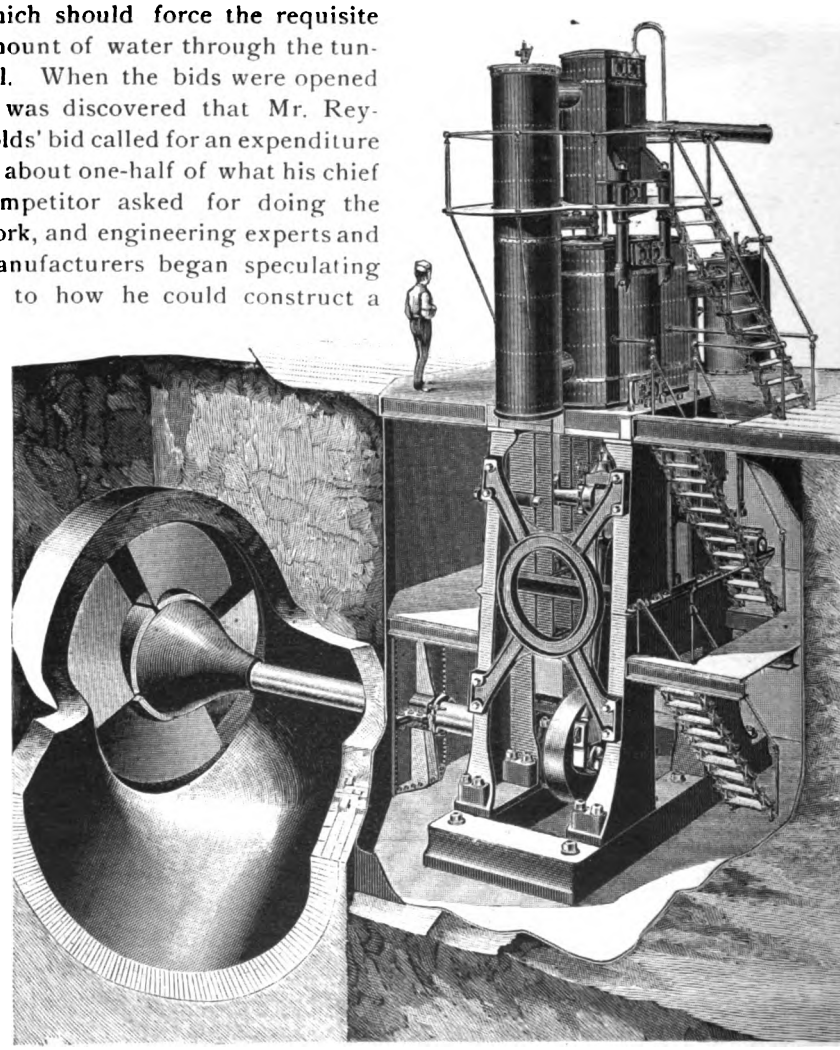
tion of the city's sewage is emptied.

Mr. Reynolds was among the earliest advocates of a flushing tunnel, through which water should be forced from the lake into the river; and in the face of much opposition this plan was finally adopted. A tunnel twelve feet in diameter was constructed and bids advertised for, for the construction of a pumping engine which should force the requisite amount of water through the tunnel. When the bids were opened it was discovered that Mr. Reynolds' bid called for an expenditure of about one-half of what his chief competitor asked for doing the work, and engineering experts and manufacturers began speculating as to how he could construct a machine which would do the work required of it in this instance without engaging in a losing enterprise.

It developed, however, that he had in mind the construction of an engine of an entirely novel type, and in the fall of 1888 he placed in position a pump of the propeller type, having a capacity of 32,000 cubic feet per minute, or about three hundred and



REYNOLDS' SCREW ENGINE.

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forty-five million gallons in twenty-four hours, raised three and a half feet. The wheel is located in the mouth of the tunnel and forces the clear cold water of Lake Michigan into the river, diluting the sewage and reducing the temperature of the river water during the summer months, so as to render it innocuous and odorless.

The pump is capable of renewing the entire amount of water in the river every eighteen hours, and its practical operation for nearly five years has demonstrated that it does more than its builder promised for it.

The Reynolds' ore stamp in use in the Lake Superior Copper Mines is another of Mr. Reynolds' inventions which has wrought a revolution in the field of its operations.

"Until within the last few years," says Cassier's Magazine, "all steam stamps were constructed with the anvil block and mortar resting on heavy timbers, which were supported at the ends only. The spring timbers, so called, were supposed to be essential to the operation of the machine, being claimed by experts that with solid foundations the stamps could not be made durable and would not crush as much rock as with the spring timber bottom. In defiance of these theories, Mr. Reynolds proposed the construction of a stamp having a solid cast-iron foundation, and his proposition having been accepted with a guarantee of at least equaling the spring-bottom machines, he built the machine illustrated. When put in operation the stamp with the solid foundation crushed about fifty per cent. more rock in twenty-four hours than machines of exactly similar size and construction but which sat on spring timbers, the result of which was that nearly all of the old machines having spring bottoms have had them replaced with solid anvil blocks. Aside from the gain in the capacity of the machine, the substitution of solid bottoms has done away with the expense of the renewal of the spring timbers, which on the old machines are required frequently, the life of the timbers depending largely on the weight of the stamp and the blow struck."

Mr. Reynolds was the first builder of large quadruple expansion engines in this country; the first machine being two thousand horse power for operating a cotton mill in Rhode Island. The largest engine at the Columbian Exposition is also of this type and of Mr. Reynolds' design, and his invention of mechanical devices of minor importance have been numerous. His aim and purpose has always been to produce something of practical utility in his field of operation, and few American inventors have more intelligently directed their efforts.

He was born in Mansfield, Conn., March 23d, 1831, and is the son of Christopher Reynolds, a new England farmer, whose wife was Clarissa Huntington. The immigrant ancestor of the Reynolds family in New England was William Reynolds, who came from Gloucestershire, England, and settled at North Kingstown, Rhode Island in 1636. In 1637 this William Reynolds was at Providence and received his parcel in the first allotment to white men of the lands on which the city of Providence is now located. Herodias Hicks, one

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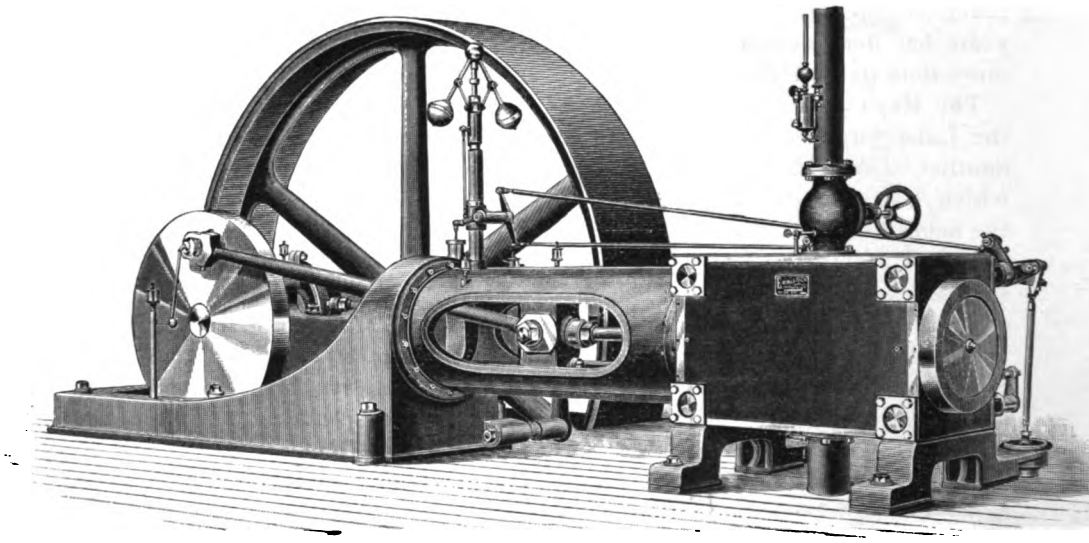
of his descendants, a Quakeress, suffered the lash and imprisonment by order of Governor Endicott of Massachusetts, because of her religious beliefs. Theophilus Whaley, a representative of one of the collateral branches of the Reynolds family, was an officer in Cromwell's army, who was present at the execution of King Charles I. and in England and America the family has been prolific of interesting characters.

The Huntington family has also been conspicuous in English and American history, and a scion of this stock might reasonably be expected to become somewhat famous, although his start in life was not propitious.

Brought up on a farm Edwin Reynolds received only a common school education and thorough industrial training. When he was sixteen years old he was apprenticed to a machinist and spent three years learning his trade. After that he worked in various shops in Connecticut, Massachusetts and Ohio until 1857, when he removed to Aurora, Indiana, and became superintendent of the shops of Steadman & Co., whose principal work was the building of engines, saw-mills and drainage pumps for Mississippi plantations. The breaking out of the Civil War interrupted this business and in the spring of 1861 Mr. Reynolds returned to Connecticut. During the next six years he was engaged with New York and Boston manufacturers, and in 1867 entered the employ of the Corliss Engine Company at Providence, Rhode Island. At the end of four years he had become general superintendent of the Corliss works and he retained the position until 1877, when he came to Milwaukee to take the general superintendency of the Edward P. Allis Reliance Works. In this capacity his mechanical and en-



"1890," REYNOLDS' CORLISS ENGINE.

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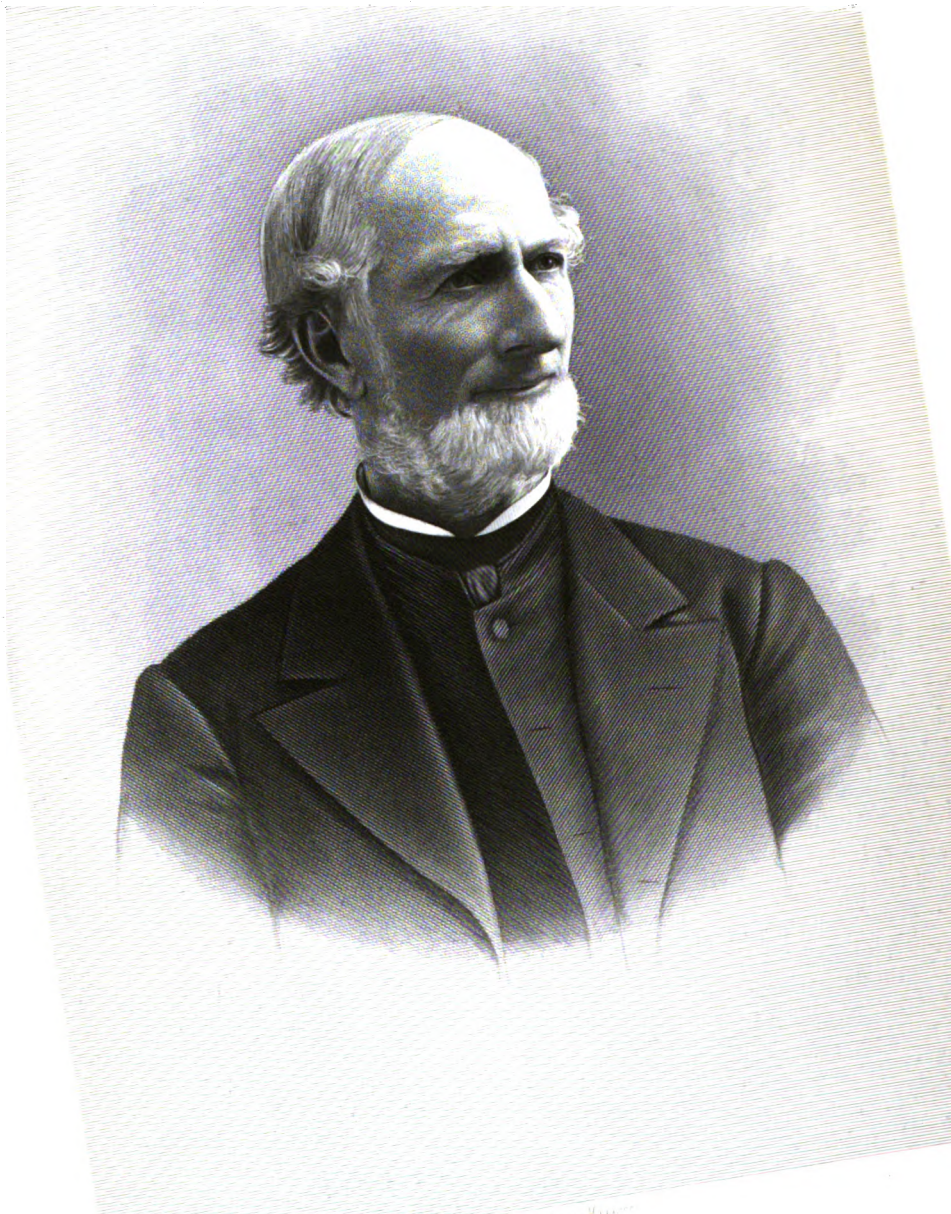

Robt. Meadowcroft

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gineering as well as his general business ability has been put to a thorough test, and the marvelous development of the works into one of the most extensive establishments of the kind in the United States, is evidence of the fact that he has been master of the situation. The confidence in his ability and integrity strengthened with the years of their association, and when Mr. Allis died Mr. Reynolds was named as one of the trustees of his estate.

He is second Vice-President of the corporation. He is President of the Milwaukee Boiler Company, of the Daisy Roller Mills and of the Morning Mining Company, facts which evidence material prosperity and the accumulation of fortune.

As a business man he has been eminently successful and as a mechanical engineer and inventor he has achieved a celebrity which is not confined to the United States.

WESTERN PIONEERS.

ROBERT MEADOWCROFT.

ROBERT MEADOWCROFT who died in Chicago about the 1st of February last, was at the time of his death one of the oldest bankers of the city and a pioneer who had lived in Northeastern Illinois almost sixty years. He was a native of England having been born in Liverpool in 1813. In 1830 he came to the United States and first made his home in New Jersey where he engaged actively in business while still a very young man. For a time he gave his attention to the operation of silk and woolen mills in that state, but in 1835 he determined to seek a more favorable field for investment in the West, and disposing of his interests in New Jersey he removed to Chicago.

The fertile farming lands west of the village of that period—in what is now Du Page County, attracted his attention and he settled on a farm near the old town of Napierville which had been laid out by Joseph Napier, famous as a lake captain in the early history of upper lake navigation. This occupation was not entirely congenial to the enterprising young Englishman who had been trained for a more active business career, and in 1845 when Chicago began to recover from the depression which had followed in the wake of the prodigious land speculation indulged in between 1835 and 1840, he returned to the city and engaged in business as a grocer and ship chandler. While interested in this business he also became one of the most prominent vessel owners of the west and was actively identified with the shipping interests of Chicago until 1860, when he organized the banking firm of Meadowcroft brothers his brother Richard Meadowcroft becoming associated with him.

In this new calling he proved himself a sagacious as well as a careful and conservative financier. Sterling honesty and strict integrity characterized all his operations and the bank-

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ing house of Meadowcroft Brothers developed into one of the solid and popular financial institutions of Chicago. For a full quarter of a century the two brothers carried on the business together and the two sons of Robert Meadowcroft were brought up, after the approved English fashion to become identified with the same institution and succeed to its management. Richard Meadowcroft retired from the banking business in 1885 and in 1888 C. J. and F. R. Meadowcroft became associated with their father as active partners. The senior member of the firm continued to give the business a large share of his attention until stricken with the illness which resulted in his death, and brought to a close the career of one of the pioneer financiers of the city.

CHRONICLES OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. III.

THOMAS FREEMAN.

A PIONEER of two States, a promotor of important enterprises in the chief city of the West, a benefactor of the town in which he spent the last thirty years of his life, an accomplished, self-educated and self made man was Thomas Freeman, who died at his home in the city of Evanston, Illinois, on the 5th of March last. Nearly fifty years prior to his demise he had made his entrè into the little frontier city of Chicago and with the exception of two years spent in California he has been identified with the city ever since, living to see it the second city of the United States in point of population, on the eve of opening an exposition of the arts and manufactures of the civilized world unequaled in magnificence and magnitude by any preceding exhibitions of similar character.

To have been a witness of this wonderful transformation of a straggling frontier village into one of the foremost cities of the world is a distinction which few men have enjoyed, and to have been an important factor in promoting this growth and development is to have been a character entitled to a permanent place in history, a pioneer the record of whose life should be preserved for future generations.

Thomas Freeman was born in Ireland April 24th, 1821, of English parents. When he was one year old his parents came to this country and located at Sunbury, Pennsylvania. There he grew to manhood receiving a fair education, learned the carpenter's trade and began life on his own account. He worked at his trade in Sunbury, Milton, Philadelphia, Williamsport and New York until 1844, and while working in Williamsport formed the acquaintance of Miss Elizabeth McMurray, of Irish parentage, who afterward became his wife.

In 1844 an ambition to become identified with a young and growing community and to profit by its development brought him to Chicago. The era of substantial improvement

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Thos. P. Freeman

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had just then fairly begun in the city and he found an abundance of work at his trade to which he gave diligent attention until 1850 when the gold discovery in California tempted him to the Pacific coast. In the early months of that year in company with several other adventurous spirits, he fitted up a wagon train and set out for the gold fields. Their experiences in crossing the plains and mountains, in avoiding hostile Indians and keeping themselves supplied with the necessities of life, in traveling over long stretches of country in which white men had no habitation, were the experiences of thousands of their confreres of that period, and without special incident, albeit they were experiences which men can never again have on the American continent unless it should happen that civilization should take a backward turn.

He arrived in California in the summer of 1850 and was part and parcel of that tidal wave of immigration which shaped the destinies of the territory and made it one of the States of the Union. In a business way he gave only a share of his attention to mining, but engaged in contracting and other enterprises in which he was uniformly successful. Notwithstanding this prosperity, there were ties which bound him to the Eastern States too strong to be broken by a continued residence in California, and in 1852 he returned to Williamsport, Pennsylvania, where he was married to Elizabeth McMurray with whom he had become acquainted eight or ten years, prior to that date.

Immediately after his marriage Mr. Freeman located again in Chicago where he started a sash and blind factory and invested largely in real estate. Not long afterward he became a dealer in realty and in connection with this business took up the study of law. In 1855 he was admitted to the bar and from that time gave his attention mainly to the realty business and the practice of his profession. Naturally a student, his success in life enabled him to gratify his literary tastes and to become familiar with the best of English literature. A large and carefully selected library found a place in his own home and at the same time he interested himself actively in public library upbuilding. Removing from Chicago to Evanston in 1863 he became one of the benefactors of the famous college town, being the founder in part of the Evanston Free Library and a generous friend of the Northwestern University.

While actively engaged in business in Chicago he was the organizer and first president of the first building and loan association in the city, and a pioneer in promoting the growth of these institutions which have furnished to thousands of people the means for obtaining their own homes. Upright and honest in all his transactions, careful and conscientious in all his business operations, widely known to the older residents of the city, he enjoyed a large measure of public confidence and esteem, and his death which occurred suddenly and unexpectedly brought to an unusually large number of friends a feeling of personal bereavement.

Politically he was only active during and immediately preceding the Civil war, when all his energies were enlisted in the suppression of the re-

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bellion and the liberation of the slaves. At one time an office-mate of Abraham Lincoln he enjoyed an intimate personal acquaintance with him and was an ardent admirer and supporter of the martyr-president when he was little known outside of Illinois. As one of the early abolitionists of Chicago, he was one of the men who could always be depended upon to tender sympathy and assistance to the fugitive slave and as an efficient conductor on the "underground railway" he is held in kindly remembrance by old associates in the work of making freemen out of slaves.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR LEADERS.

COLONEL WILLIAM P. THOMPSON.

IN business life there are many circles of achievement, characterized by differences in the personal ability displayed, and the consequent magnitude of the work accomplished. We frequently find true success in the humblest walk and the smallest sphere of action. We find others who have established reputations in the circle of a certain city or particular section of the country. A still higher circle, but very much more limited in the number of persons comprising it, includes those whose business enterprises have been on such a scale as to gain for them a national reputation.

Prominent in this class stands Colonel William P. Thompson, of New York, the brief outlines of whose life we are about to present. A business career, as compared with almost any professional walk in life, is the most quiet and conservative, the least obtrusive and ostentatious of avocations. The same energies and abilities which, when expanded in business are largely hidden and unappreciated would frequently suffice to bring considerable renown in politics or a profession. Thus when we find a person whose force of character has compelled the conservative channels of financial operations or business enterprises to really yield him a national reputation, we can readily believe that his abilities would have lifted him easily to pre-eminence in any other walk of life he might have chosen. We can especially believe this of Colonel Thompson, and this will be evident to the reader as we proceed.

He was born at Wheeling, then in Virginia, on the 7th of January, 1837, his father, Judge George W. Thompson, being of that excellent Irish extraction which has furnished a brilliant strain to so many families of old Virginia gentlemen. The elder Thompson was a life-long Democrat, who represented his district in Congress. He resigned his seat in this body in 1852, to become a Judge of the Circuit Court of Virginia. After serving in this capacity for eight years, he was re-elected, but was deposed from office in 1861, because although a Union man, he questioned

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The National Magazine

Yours Truly
W. P. Thompson

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the constitutionality of rending the new State, West Virginia, from the seceding Commonwealth. Judge Thompson had also decided literary tastes. He was a refined scholar and a graceful writer. He was especially fond of the study of philosophy, and published several volumes on this subject. He also displayed unusual talent in versification. His many poems, published in various periodicals, proved him possessed of no mean ability in this direction.

Colonel Thompson's mother, likewise, was a woman of superior talents. She was the daughter of Mr. Daniel Steenrod, a gentleman of wealth and influence in Western Virginia, whose son, Hon. Lewis Steenrod, represented the Wheeling District in Congress for many years. Mrs. Thompson was a leader in the society of Wheeling at a time when that city was one of the social centers of the country. She also possessed more of the christian and household graces than are often seen displayed in one person.

As a child, Colonel Thompson was delicate and of a nervous temperament, with studious inclinations. He attended the Wheeling public schools, studied a considerable time at Lindsley Institute, and spent a single term at Jefferson College, in Pennsylvania, this institution being then in the noonday of its fame. With a father and an uncle who both were ex-Congressmen and active politicians, the boy quite naturally became early interested in politics. When but fourteen years of age he enjoyed the complete confidence of his father and participated in all his political manipulations. He presently began the study of law, but before he could finish his readings, failing health compelled him to desist. He thereupon spent a year "roughing it" in Marshall County, Virginia, which rude country furnished all the discipline of backwoods life. Here he became a successful lumberman. But even in this rough district the politician in him soon cropped out.

Marshall County was divided into eight districts, near the junction of three of which Mr. Thompson conducted his business operations. The young man wrote letters, drew up documents and gave informal legal advice to the rough farmers and lumbermen in his neighborhood. These kindnesses inspired the confidence of the countrymen, and during his absence from the county, the time for nominating a Congressman drawing nigh, his name began to be mentioned throughout the three districts for the nomination. There were eight other aspirants for the office, and finding Mr. Thompson's popularity the most serious obstacle in the way of all, these eight men made common cause to discredit him throughout the county, preparatory to a final struggle among themselves.

Mr. Thompson returned to learn simultaneously both that a canvass was being conducted in his favor, and that this formidable coalition of candidates were making strenuous efforts to defame his reputation throughout the county. The young man was then but nineteen years of age, and inelegible to the office of Congressman. But the gratuitous slanders of the political "combine" in opposition nettled him, and he determined to seek vindication at the hands of the people.

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Instantly, when the knowledge of the state of affairs reached him, he traded one of his work horses for a spirited riding-mare, and galloped away to the caucus being held in a distant school-house. The meeting was just breaking up when he arrived. The simple countrymen had been harangued by some of the hostile coalition, and had consented to action in opposition to Mr. Thompson. The young man gathered them together outside and demanded to know what charges the orators had brought against him. Then he led them into the school-house once more and with simple and straight-forward eloquence made his defense, declaring that he had neither sought nor desired the nomination for Congress, but that he did demand the vindication of the honest people from the defamation he had suffered.

The response was instant, and disregarding the other orators who sat without a word among them, the men reversed their action in Mr. Thompson's favor. From this point the canvass was a pitched battle. When the convention assembled Mr. Thompson developed such strength as to lack but two votes of the two-thirds necessary for a nomination. At this juncture it was announced to the convention, on the authority of Mr. Thompson's uncle, that the young candidate was not yet of age, and ineligible for office. But contrary to expectations, this announcement only resulted in securing his nomination, on the next ballot, by a two-thirds vote, which was immediately made unanimous. Mr. Thompson appeared before the convention, thanked them for the honor and the vindication of his character, but declined to accept, naming another man in his place. This nominee was immediately confirmed to the great chagrin of the eight conspirators.

Returning to Wheeling a little later in improved health Mr. Thompson finished his law studies, and in 1857 was admitted to the bar. Being unwilling to practice in the Courts presided over by his father, and in order that every thought of favoritism might be excluded, he removed to Fairmont, Marion County, where he formed a partnership with Alpheus F. Haymond. The latter gentlemen afterwards became a Justice of the Supreme Court of West Virginia. Just before the outbreak of the civil war, Mr. Thompson was put forth as a candidate for the constitutional convention. There were five candidates in the field. Two of these were champions of secession, and the hot war-feeling which surged up just before the election sufficed to carry these men into the Convention. Mr. Thompson's friends begged and pleaded with him to make some compromise of his principles, so that they might vote for him, but he firmly refused. At the convention the nomination was offered to him if he would only agree to vote for secession as a last extremity, but this he also declined to do.

Both of the Thompsons, father and son, opposed secession, deprecated the war, and reasoned for a fair compromise of the difficulties The young lawyer fully realized and freely declared that secession meant certain war, and that war meant inevitable humiliation and defeat for the South. Yet fully appreciating the

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position, he believed with General Robert E. Lee and other patriots who held similiar views, that his allegiance belonged to his native State. Sadly, yet without hesitation, he acquiesced in the determination which carried the "Old Dominion" out of the Union and joined in the marvelous defense, which under the brilliant leadership of Gen. Lee, for so long time, and against such odds, repelled every invasion of her territory. Major General Thomas S. Haymond when he received his commission from Richmond called upon Mr. Thompson to become an aide-de-camp and his chief-of-staff. The young lawyer accepted the appointment.

The loss of Western Virginia was early foreseen. General Haymond, who was in command of the militia in that section, called a private conference of leading citizens to discuss the situation. It being inevitable that the western section of the State, with its strong Union sentiment and inaccessibility by reason of the Alleghany Mountains, could not permanently be held, a strong military demonstration in that section at the outset was recommended for its moral effect in securing the enlistment of as many Western Virginians as possible in the Confederate Army. Captain Thompson was unanimously elected by this conference to proceed to Richmond and place the results of its deliberations before the Governor and his council. This mission he faithfully performed, and upon the strength of his representations an expedition into Western Virginia by way of Harper's Ferry was promptly planned by General Lee, to be under the command of the famous "Stonewall" Jackson, then a colonel in the Confederate Army.

After arranging the plans for this expedition with Lee and Jackson, Colonel Thompson returned to West Virginia and organized and became captain of the Marion Guards. He also got together a company from Clarksburg, under the command of Captain Turner, and another from Taylor County, under the command of Captain Hansborough. With these troops he took possession of Fetterman, a little town near Grafton, and here waited daily expecting Stonewall Jackson to sieze the railroad and concentrate his forces at Grafton.

But the activity of the Federal troops made it utterly impossible for Jackson or the troops with him to leave Harper's Ferry. Colonel Porterfield, instead, was sent into Western Virginia with a body of troops, across the Alleghany mountains. Meanwhile Gen. Malone had entered the section and organized the Union sympathizers. After the skirmish at Philippi, Col. Porterfield retreated, until Gen. Garnett appeared to relieve him of the command. Garnett was subsequently defeated at Rich mountain, Laurel Hill and Carnafix Ferry, and with his entire force retreated back of the Alleghany mountains. Thus ended the attempt at a demonstration in Western Virginia.

Tendered a commission by the governor while in Richmond, as Lieutenant-Colonel, young Thompson refused the honor as doubtful of his fitness. "If I achieve this position by meritorious work by the end of the war," he replied "I shall be amply satisfied." A little later, with his company, he participated in the battle of Philippi, and from this time forth was actively en-

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gaged until the close of the contest. He was with General Garnett at Laurel Hill, and was at the side of this brave officer when he fell at Carrick's Ford. Under General Edward Johnston he fought at Cheat Mountain, Greenbrier River and Alleghany Mountain. In this last battle his brother, Lewis S. Thompson, a gallant young officer, was killed while leading a charge. Later on Colonel Thompson participated in the memorable campaigns under General Stonewall Jackson, Breckenridge and Early. In the winter of 1862–63, he was associated with General William C. Jackson, a personal friend, and several others, in the organization of a brigade of cavalry. Of this force General Jackson became commander, while Colonel Thompson, under him, commanded what was known as the Nineteenth Virginia Cavalry. This regiment earned an enviable reputation in the service and figured in the hottest engagements until the close of the war, ending with the fighting about Richmond, and General Early's brilliant but unavailing resistance to General Sheridan.

After the war, Col. Thompson turned to the practice of the law. Such was the antagonism which his character as an ex-Confederate aroused, that only one judge in West Virginia, Judge Stewart of Doddridge county, would permit him to practice. Even this official was in danger of impeachment for his intrepidity, and learning this Col. Thompson withdrew. In July, 1866, he removed to Parkersburg and engaged in the oil business with his brother-in-law, Senator J. N. Camden, and Mr. W. N. Chancellor. Both these partners were engaged in other enterprises, so that almost the entire management of the oil-works developed upon Col. Thompson. He soon mastered the business, and built up a great success. Greatly enlarged facilities were obtained and the sale of crude oils developed. The discovery of a generous vein of lubricating oil near Parkersburg was followed by a prompt acquisition of the entire product by Col. Thompson's firm. They thus became the largest dealers in lubricating oil in the world. Later on, when the supply of natural lubricating oil began to decline, they established refineries and began its manufacture.

In 1875, the firm formerly known as "J. N. Camden & Co.," entered into relations with the Standard Oil Company. Mr. Chancellor retired. A re-organization was affected under the style of the "Camden Consolidated Oil Company," of which Senator Camden was president, and Col. Thompson vice-president. From this time forth, Col. Thompson figured in connection with the great Standard Oil Company, his unusual executive abilities securing him immediate recognition. He bought, practically, all the refineries at Parkersburg and Marietta, and assisted in securing desirable commercial connections throughout the western country. In 1881 he removed to Cleveland, Ohio, as one of the executive officers of the company. In 1882 he became secretary, and in 1884 succeeded Col. Oliver H. Payne as vice-president of the great corporation. In this position he had the general charge of the affairs of the company throughout the entire territory west of Buffalo.

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The growing business of the corporation compelled his removal to New York City in 1887. The various companies entered into a trust form, and Col. Thompson became chairman of the domestic committe, having in charge the internal affairs of the trust. In this position his abilities had full play, and he was so successful that, in 1889, he felt justified in carrying out his intention, for some time cherished, of retiring to private life. He endeavored to do this, but about this time another large enterprise was presented to him and insistently urged upon his acceptance.

The question of developing what was known as the "lead trust" was under consideration, and it was insisted that Col. Thompson should undertake the task. The trust included three large smelting plants, all the principal white lead factories, large red lead and litharge factories, several factories for the manufacture of sheet lead and lead pipe, and three large linseed oil factories—all of these scattered throughout the country, from the Atlantic to the Pacific seaboard.

Col. Thompson, having accepted the presidency, promptly set to work to organize and discipline this large business. The individual companies were indebted to the extent of $5,000,000. They had all been rivals and no sort of organization had been effected. The trust had been brought together under an enormous capitalization, which was four times as great as the intrinsic values represented. Moreover, the combination had been effected under agreements which it was feared would not stand the test of legal examination. The task of re-organization, and of placing the property of the shareholders in legal shape was a necessary duty involving tremendous labor and skill. This was accomplished in a phenomenally economical manner. The capital was reduced from $90,000,000 to $30,000,000. On the 1st of January, 1892, the National Lead Company was formed, assuming the assets of the National Lead Trust, while this mammoth property was placed on a dividend-paying basis. Every dollar of indebtedness has been paid off, and within the past three and one-half years, dividends have been paid to the shareholders of more than $2,500,000. Col. Thompson has continued president under both styles of organization. In the meantime, however, he became director, and subsequently vice-president of the United States National Bank. This institution having removed from No. 1 Broadway to 41 and 43 Wall street, and some changes in personnel effected, he had the pleasure of seeing its deposits doubled in the short space of one year. He is also a director in the Southern National Bank, a charter member of the American Pig Iron Warrant Company, one of the governors of the American Assurance Lloyd Company, and a director and member of the executive committee of the Ohio River Railroad Company, of the Monargough Railroad Company, of the Monauga Coal Company, and of the Huntington & Big Sandy Railroad Company—in all of which he owns large interests.

In the spring of 1893, Col Thompson consummated a long cherished plan by the purchase, in its entirety, of the great estate created by the late

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D. D. Withers, in Monmouth county, N. J., and known as Brookdale. This is the most remarkable property of its kind in the country. Along with the estate Col. Thompson acquired the perfected breeding establishment brought together by Mr. Withers during twenty-five years of great labor and thought, together with all the thoroughbreds and various paraphernalia pertaining thereunto. The estate consists of some 840 acres, and is stocked with 140 head of the most fashionable thoroughbreds in America. There is a sufficient complement of cattle and other live-stock. It is the ambition of the new proprietor to breed the finest thoroughbred horses in America.

Brookdale henceforth will be the country home where Col. Thompson and his charming wife and family will enjoy the good things of life, and dispense to their numerous friends a gracious hospitality, such as has characterized their handsome home on Fifth avenue.

In 1864, Col. Thompson was married to Miss Evelyn Moffat, of Pocahontas county, Va. She is a daughter of Col. Henry Moffat, of one of the oldest Virginia families, which is connected with such well-known families of the "Old Dominion" as the McDowells, Stuarts, Franciscos, Warwicks and various others. Col. and Mrs. Thompson have been blessed with three children, two sons and a daughter, who together form one of the most delightful of households.

Col. Thompson, personally, is a gentleman of high mind and fine tastes, tall and lithe in appearance, graceful in bearing, pleasing in address, fluent, even eloquent, in speech; his hair but slightly grizzled—one upon whom the years sit lightly; in the full vigor of life, and the full flood of his business activities.

Col. Thompson takes a philosophical view of the progress of civilization. He is an optimist. The evolution of nations, the migrations and immigrations of peoples, which vex so many minds, in his view are only intelligent and well-planned manœuvers to work out, gradually but surely, the plans of improvement and progress conceived for man by the great Head over all. Col. Thompson believes that all things adjust themselves to bring out in the end what is just and right. He believes that the highest mission in life is not to harass, agitate and turn things upside down, but to soothe, ameliorate, do away with the frictions, and so contribute to the harmonious working out of the great and inevitable laws which underly human destiny. This, in the line of all his great operations, has been the constant aim of his own efforts. And this, according to the standpoint of his own philosophy, is the measure of his individual success in life.

L. A. Bond.

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WAS JAY GOULD MISJUDGED?

A STUDY FROM DATA HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

MR. JAY GOULD enjoyed more than a national reputation. The number of his contemporaries in America whose names were equally well-known, equally familiar to every man and every school-boy in the land, can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Moreover his achievements were of that nature which is supposed to be more characteristically "American" than any other. They were purely business enterprises. Beginning life with his bare hands, he acquired greater wealth than any one man in the country's history had ever done before. Indeed, leaving out of the question conquerors who have amassed riches as spoils of war, Mr. Gould's achievement was unprecedented in the known history of the world. Others have inherited wealth, and with the advantage of such original capital have built up great fortunes. But Mr. Gould's first dollar, as well as his last million, was altogether the product of his own exertions.

Several peculiar things confront us at the threshold, in the consideration of Mr. Gould's life. We know of no person of equal renown who, leading the life merely of a business man and having no part in politics, has had so much said about him that was evil, and so little that was good. His name has been one to conjure by in financial matters. He has been held up throughout the length and breadth of the land as the supreme example of all that is relentless and unscrupulous in business methods. Two decades, with a sort of fear and wonder, beheld in him "the Wizard of Wall Street." Was this popular estimate just? If not, how shall we account for it?

Mr. Gould's career was contemporaneous with a period characterized both by the rapid acquisition of enormous wealth on the part of the few, and the awakening of a general discontent, pointing more or less toward socialistic ideas, on the part of the many. The man whose energies and abilities carried him to the foremost place in the first class, would naturally attract in a special way the criticism and animosity of the second class. Mr. Gould occupied this unenviable place. As he was the best known exponent, so inevitably he became in a way the martyr of the class to which he belonged. The out-and-out socialist, on the premises of his belief, might have a legitimate quarrel with Mr. Gould, just as he would have with every other rich man. But we think it can be shown that the majority of men, who hold with Mr. Gould the right of individual property and the right of unlimited acquisition by honest methods, can make no critism of him which does not apply to every other man in the same class. Of course this view requires a correction of the popularly accepted versions of many of Mr. Gould's business transactions. But such a correction we believe the facts of the case warrant, and these facts it is our purpose briefly to outline in their proper place in this sketch.

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One important point must be borne in mind for an intelligent understanding of Mr. Gould's life. He possessed in an unusual degree that peculiar pride and sensitiveness which refrains from explaining a misunderstanding or from rectifying a false judgment when self is the sole sufferer. A published misrepresentation did not drive him, as it does most men, into the public prints for an immediate explanation. If men were ready to accuse, and the world to receive the accusation, he let them do so. Instances of this kind were numerous. The most severe charges concerning some of Mr. Gould's largest transactions were met with silence, and not until years afterward, perhaps, upon the witness stand or before some Congressional committee, was his side of the story told. Of course, in the popular mind, this determined silence was practically a confession of guilt. But while he must have realized that his silence only deepened the misunderstanding, this did not suffice to open Mr. Gould's mouth. Each unanswered accusation added some new preposterous feature to the strange image which the mention of his name served to conjure up in the imagination of the people. He became a man of an iron heart, unscrupulous and unmerciful, the Wizard of the Street. His silence was also interpreted as indicating an utter indifference to public opinion, an imperviousness to criticism. Yet the truth was the direct opposite of this. Mr. Gould possessed his soul in patience, resting in the firm confidence that the verdict of time would render him complete if tardy justice.

The writer confesses to the unfamiliarity of this view, but if any one believes it far-fetched and fantastic, let him review the events of Mr. Gould's life in this light and see whether it furnishes an intelligent explanation of things otherwise inexplicable.

In the matter of ancestry we come to a story not yet told in any biography of Gould which we have seen. It was in accord with the character of the man never to give out the least hint of his antecedents, however honorable they may have been. Even Murat Halstead's "Life of Jay Gould," published in 1892 (a crude, cheap volume of doubtful value), dismisses the question of ancestry in this unsatisfactory fashion: "Roxbury was but an insignificant village in the Catskill County region. The Goulds had moved there not long after the Revolutionary War, and Jay's father, John B. Gould, was the first white male child born in the County." Who would imagine from this that Mr. Gould was descended from several lines of Puritan gentlemen who figured prominently in the early history of Massachusetts and Connecticut?

Mr. Charles Burr Todd, historian and genealogist, describes the Gould or Gold family as "one of the most eminent and notable families of New England."[1] Its founder, Major Nathan Gold, about 1646 came from St. Edmondsbury, in Southern England, to Fairfield, Connecticut, where he was one of the foremost citizens. He was one of the nineteen signers of the petition for the Charter of Connecticut in 1624, "which petition was only signed by gentlemen who had sus-

[1] "History of the Burr Family," by Charles Burr Todd, New York, 1891.

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tained a high reputation in England before coming to this country." Between 1657 and 1694 (the time of his death), he was also a member of the Connecticut Council, answering to the present State Senator. "His son, Nathan Gold, Jr.," says Mr Todd, "was even more prominent in public life." He was town clerk of Fairfield from 1684 to 1726, Deputy Governor of Connecticut between 1706 and 1724, and became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in 1712. His wife was a daughter of Lieut-Colonel John Talcott, of Hartford. Their fourth son, Samuel Gold, was born Dec. 27, 1692, and on Dec. 1, 1716, was married to Esther Bradley "of an excellent Fairfield family." Two of their children, Captain Abel and Colonel Abraham Gold, were Revolutionary soldiers. The latter, in the direct line of descent, deserves more than a mere passing mention. He was born May 10, 1732, and on New Year's Day of 1754 was married to Elizabeth Burr.

We must pause here to indicate another line, the Burr family, which has had many notable representatives. Perhaps the best known was the famous Aaron Burr, Vice-President of the United States. This family boasts an ancestry extending back to Baldwin de Bures, of Suffolk County, England, whom we find mentioned as early as 1193, in the time of Richard I. A little later appears Sir Robert de Bures of Acton Hall, Knight Templar of Jerusalem. He was one of the Barons, "a noted man in his day." He held various important positions in Suffolk County, and in 1324 was one of the Council convened by the Barons at Westminister to take steps toward the deposition of Edward II. Three years later this act was consummated. Sir Robert was buried in 1331 at Acton, where "there is a magnificent brass to his memory, representing him in full armor, the rampant lions on his shield, and with crossed legs, the mark of the crusader. This brass is considered by archæologists as the most perfect and splendid specimen of its date in all England."

The founder of the family in America was John Burr, who came over with Governor Winthrop in 1630. He settled first in Roxbury, but was one of eight, including the Honorable William Pynchon, who in 1636 journeyed through the wilderness of Massachusetts and founded the City of Springfield. He was the first collector of taxes in this community. Eight years later he made one more removal to Fairfield, Conn., which town he represented in the General Court in 1645 and 1646. His son, Nathaniel, held various offices in Fairfield, and had a son in turn, Colonel John, born in May, 1673, concerning whom, Mr. Todd says: "Of the earlier members of the family, none seem so intimately connected with the present generation as does Col. Burr. Old men still point out the limits of his farm, the site of his house, and of the old oak under which he bought his lands of the Indian Sagamores." Col. John Burr was in truth one of the largest land holders in the State. During Queen Ann's War he held the important office of Commissary for his County. He was a Deputy in the Connecticut House almost continuously from 1704 to 1724, and during much of this time served as Speaker. For

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two terms he was Auditor, and continuously between 1729 and 1742 was Assistant (Senator.) He was Judge both of the County Court and the Probate Court from 1729 to 1743. On May 10, 1733, he was appointed one of the Judges of the Court of Chancery. He also served as Major of the Connecticut forces that participated in the brilliant capture of Port Royal from the French in 1710. The eldest son of this man, Captain John, baptized Aug. 28, 1698, was the father of Elizabeth Burr.

Thus briefly we have the two distinguished lines which were united in the marriage of Colonel Abraham Gold (Gould) and Elizabeth Burr, the great-grandparents of Jay Gould. During the days of Colonel Abraham the name began to be written, in his branch of the family at least, as "Gould" instead of Gold, and thus it appears five times on a stone erected in Fairfield Cemetery in memory of the Colonel and three of his brothers. Whether "Gold" was the original spelling is, however, a question. It is true that the American branch of the family adopted this in early Colonial days. But the older records of the various family lines in England reveal a strong competition between the two spellings. Perhaps the change to "Gould" at Fairfield, about the time of the Revolution, was adopted as a correction by the family on account of information received from England. Colonel Abraham Gould was one of the martyrs of the Revolution. By Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, he was commissioned Colonel of the Fifth Regiment, a troop of Fairfield County; and in April, 1777, he was killed at the head of his men in a fierce hand-to-hand street fight in the village of Ridgefield, while unsuccessfully attempting to check the advance of the British under Gen. Tryon. His widow, Mr. Todd tells us, "received the bloody corpse of her husband with Spartan calmness and fortitude; she laid away the sword and raiment as precious relics for his children and posterity, and took up the burdens of life with courage, patience and resignation."

SWORD OF COLONEL ABRAHAM GOULD.

The sword of Abraham Gould, stained with British blood, is still preserved and is in the possession of Mr. Abraham Gould Jennings, of Brooklyn. Abraham Gould, namesake and fourth child of the patriot, removed early in life to the then wilderness of Delaware county, New York. From this point we have the facts from the pen of Jay Gould himself, as narrated in his famous "History of Delaware County." He tells us that "in 1789, a company consisting of twenty heads of families and two single men, principally from Fairfield county, Connecticut, came into Delaware to examine the country, and fix upon a favorable situation for a permanent settlement." One of the heads of families was Capt. Abraham Gould, who established himself in what

NOTE. The inscription on the hilt is: "The sword used by Col. Abraham Gould, of Fairfield, Conn., who was killed on his horse by the British, at Ridgefield, Conn., April 27th, 1777. The sword was found stained with the enemy's blood."

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was known as the West Settlement. The interesting story of those pioneer days as told by the youthful historian, Jay Gould, must be passed over. Capt. Abraham's oldest son, John Burr Gould, father of Jay, enjoyed the distinction of being the first male white child born in the town of Roxbury. He married Mary More, granddaughter of John More, a Scotchman, who came from Ayrshire, in 1772.

Jay (or Jason) Gould, born May 27, 1836, was the eldest son, although the sixth child, of John B. Gould and Mary More. His father was a man of unusual force of character; well-read, although self-educated; quite an authority on the subject of history, his favorite study; and ambitious to give his children all the educational advantages he could. These advantages were not extraordinary, however, although we find the boy Jay making the most of them. Beginning school-life at the age of five, the youth finished his education (so far as schools were concerned) when but sixteen. In early years he attended the ordinary district schools. During the famous Anti-Rent difficulties he went to Beechwood Seminary, a school offering special advantages, which had been built by Mr. John B. Gould and several neighbors. Later on, for two terms, he attended Hobart Seminary, eight miles from home, and usually walked this distance at the end of each school week. He earned his own board by keeping the books of the blacksmith with whom he stayed. After this experience he returned to Beechwood and there finished his education.

With these school days in Delaware County begins the misrepresentation and misunderstanding of his character which followed Jay Gould throughout all his after life. Says Murat Halstead: "He had disliked even the customary sports of the people around him; he was different from any other boys in the village school in which he got the rudiments of his education. He was not what was generally termed a manly boy. He did not participate in the rough-natured games of his school-mates, and preferred to remain in-doors and at recess time to cuddle up in some remote corner of the schoolhouse, busy with his own thoughts and his own plans and hopes for the future. When approached by his schoolmates to come and join a game, he declined all invitations. If bantered or teased by the boys, he would break away in tearful anger and make a complaint to the schoolmaster, who would thrash his tormenters, much to the relief of little Jason."

With all due respect to Mr. Halstead, we must say that all this is an evident creation of some one's imagination who felt it incumbent to invent a childhood typical of the strange character he thought to be the man. As for fact, there is very little here. We appeal to the testimony of James Oliver, one of Gould's early teachers, who, "from knowledge acquired by companionship during two and a half years, and from letters now in my possession dating of a period of four and a half years, or concerning a period in his life from the age of thirteen to twenty," says:

"Entering the school under the writer's care at the age of thirteen with a fair knowledge of the rudiments, by application, acute percep-

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tion, retentive memory, and accuracy of reasoning beyond his years, he closed his school life at the age of sixteen with a sufficient knowledge of history, science, mathematics and methods of study, to enable him to read intelligently, and pursue such studies as opportunity might afford, taste dictate, or the exigencies of business require. . . . It has been said that he was not what may be called a 'manly boy,' that he refused to join his companions in boisterous sports, and that upon being good naturedly importuned, he would cry, slink away and mope, and upon the opening of the school would appeal to the teacher for redress, and then exult at the punishment that would fall upon his tormenters. This would not apply to the Jay Gould of the writer's acquaintance. It is true that he was not fond of rude sports and would devote the time of play to study or reading. But he was always friendly with the boys, forming many lasting friendships, and his mental and moral fibre were such that it would have been impossible for him to appeal to a teacher against a school-fellow. His self-reliance and self-respect would have revolted against such a proceeding."

Although his school days ended at this early age he had an intense longing for a more liberal education. Under the date of August 2, of the year he left school, he writes from Rosendale, where he is busy surveying for a map: "But to speak of school seems to fire every feeling in my soul. It tells me that while my schoolmates are boldly advancing step by step, up the ladder of learning, I have to hold fast to keep myself upon the same round." Under date of December of the same year: "For the plain truth is I am growing old too fast; my years are getting the advance of what of all things I value most, an education. There is something in the idea of possessing a refined and cultivated mind; of its noble and mighty influence, controlling the human destiny in yielding happiness and enjoyment to its possessor, and placing him where he is capable of speaking and acting for himself without being bargained away and deceived by his more enlightened brothers;—something in the thought, I say, that is calculated to awaken and nourish resolutions that are worthy of a home in the human breast."

Is there nothing remarkable in such sentiments from a lad of sixteen or seventeen? Is there no refutation in them of the unworthy thought that would make him out an unmanly boy, a tell-tale and a sneak? Indeed the very proofs of his manhood,—the desire of obtaining an education so great as to make him willing even to "devote the time of play to study or reading," — this which places his school days unequivocally alongside those of Lincoln, Garfield and other self-made men of genius—has been placed in the balance against him instead of in his favor. In every other case it has been the special pride of the biographer that his hero was precocious, studious, and unlike other boys, fore-shadowing in youth the genius of the man. But in the case of Jay Gould all this is changed. And why? Simply because the biographer, having a total misapprehension of the man, comes with a preconceived idea of what, correspond-

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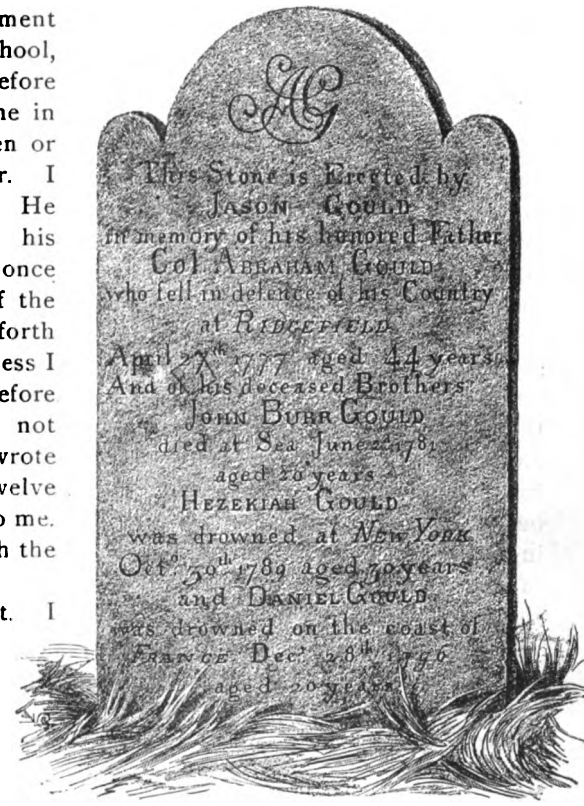
ingly, the boy ought to be. This does not necessarily prove the dishonesty of the biographer; but it argues his blindness, his acquiescence in the mistaken judgment of his generation.

Desiring another competent witness on this point, and one whose testimony might be estimated by personal knowledge of the testator, the writer recently communicated with Mr. John Burroughs, the delightful author and keen observer, too, of nature and men. His reply furnishes an interesting bit of reminiscence:

"Yes, Jay Gould and I were schoolmates. Our father's farms were about one mile apart. I remember being at school with him only two seasons — in the West Settlement School. The Beechwood School, which I did not attend, was before that. Jay's seat was behind mine in the school. He was then fourteen or fifteen. I was a little younger. I never helped him to do his sums. He was in advance of me in all his studies. But he helped me out once on a composition. The edict of the master, James Oliver, had gone forth that I must stay after school unless I handed in my composition before four o'clock. My wits would not work. Jay seeing my dilemma wrote a bit of doggerel on his slate (twelve lines) and pushed it slyly over to me. I copied it, and so went forth with the rest at close of school.

"Jay was a very bright student. I do not think he was an 'unmanly boy.' He seldom engaged in the sports of the school, because he was proud and exclusive, and would not put himself on an equal with the other boys. One winter the boys were seized with the wrestling craze. It was all the rage at recess and noontime. Jay would wrestle with no boy but me. He and I wrestled by the hour. He was very plucky and hard to beat. He was made of steel and rubber. I frequently went home with him and stayed all night, but he would never go home with me. I think Jay and I were at school together in '50 and '51. I do not believe that Murat Halstead's account is true, tho' Jay may have been like this when younger. A near neighbor and schoolmate of his was Andrew Corbin, now of Bloomville, N. Y. He knew him earlier and longer than I did."



TOMBSTONE OF COLONEL ABRAHAM GOULD
FAIRFIELD CEMETERY, CONN.

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Following the hint here given the writer applied to Mr. Andrew J. Corbin, from whom he received a further testimony which corroborates in a marked degree many of the points mentioned by Mr. Burroughs. Mr. Corbin writes: "In the early days of Jay Gould I was almost his constant companion. Our father's farms were adjoining. We attended Hobart Seminary together, rooming and sleeping together, for two terms, after which we attended a private school, known as Beechwood Seminary, organized and built on my father's farm, principally by my father and John B. Gould, the father of Jay. At this school Jay Gould's education was completed. In his early life he was in a measure different from boys in general, in that he did not seem to enter into the sports and games of the ordinary school-boy. The game of ball, which has always been most prominent with boys, he did not enter into with the same spirit as other boys. In truth he could not play ball, and was far behind in running races, etc. The amusement which he seemed to enjoy most was riding down hill. He had the best sled in the district—which met an unfortunate end as follows: Jay's father had some young colts on the farm. On our way home from school one evening, we conceived the idea of harnessing one of the colts to this sled. We put thills on the sled and succeeded in hitching the colt. The animal went a short distance, then began kicking, and finally ran away, completely demolishing the sled. Jay mourned sincerely over the sled, declaring that he would never get another which would run with this one.

"Another incident of Jay's early days is interesting as illustrating a tendency characteristic of him throughout his after life. India rubber, then for the first time seen by us boys, and used for erasing lead pencil marks, all at once became a mania with us. It was a scarce article in our boy market, and few could secure a bit of the coveted treasure. At this juncture, from an uncle who had the remnant of a pair of rubber shoes (the first I had ever seen), I came into possession of the largest piece of rubber among us. I carried my prize to school one morning, where Jay at once proposed a deal for its possession. So bent was he upon becoming the owner and sole proprietor of the largest piece of rubber in school, that he went home at noon time, three quarters of a mile, and secured the necessary funds. After enjoying the pleasure of ownership for a short time, he cut the piece into bits and was ready to supply the market with rubber at reduced prices.

"I cannot agree with Murat Halstead's 'Life of Jay Gould,' as to the latter's manliness. He was always a manly boy, but quiet and more mannerly than boys in general. He was never strong, and to this I have always attributed his not entering into the sports common to school-boys with as much spirit as other boys. He was early in life a great student, greatly devoted to books, rather exclusively inclined, good natured and quite fond of a joke."

These testimonies are verified in every respect by the statements of those most intimately associated with the boy-life of Jay Gould. Personal corroboration has come down to the

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writer through his own family, which settled in Roxbury about the same time as the Goulds. We find the school-boy briefly characterized as "a great favorite at home, always on the best of terms with his companions, active and fond of some out-door sports, although often preferring to read or study at his favorite mathematics; quiet in his manner, but fond of fun; a great tease; rather frail for the necessary farm duties, and always with a distaste for the work of the farm." A final illustration of the character and thoughts of the boy is found in the remarkable composition which he prepared in school, on April 9, 1850, when less than fourteen years of age. It reads:

"HONESTY IS THE BEST POLICY.

"By this proposition we mean that to be honest, to think honest, and to have all our actions honestly performed is the best way, and most accords with the precepts of reason. Honesty is of a self-denying nature; to become honest it requires self-denial; it requires that we should not acquaint ourselves too much with the world; that we also should not associate with those of vulgar habits; also that we should obey the warnings of conscience.

"If we are about to perform a dishonest act, the warnings of conscience exert their utmost influence to persuade us that it is wrong, and we should not do it, and after we have performed the act, this faithful agent upbraids us for it; this voice of conscience is not the voice of thunder, but a voice gentle and impressive; it does not force us to comply with its requests, while at the same time it reasons with us and brings forth arguments in favor of right.

"Since no theory of reason can be sustained without illustration, it will not be unbecoming for us to cite one of the many instances that have occurred, whose names stand high upon the scroll of fame, and whose names are recorded on the pages of history —George Washington, the man 'who never told a lie in all his life.'

"In youth he subdued his idle passions, cherished truth, obeyed the teachings of conscience, and 'never told a lie.' An anecdote which is much related, and which occurred when he was a boy goes to show his sincerity. Alexander Pope, in his 'Essay on Man,' says 'An honest man is the noblest work of God.'

"And again we find numerous passages in the Scriptures which have an immediate connection to this, and summing up the whole we cannot but say: 'Honesty is the best policy.'"

The first serious work of Gould's life, as a surveyor, map-maker and historian, has been frequently described. In the winter of 1851, in order to furnish his son with an opportunity for business training, Jay's father exchanged his farm for a hardware store in the village of Roxbury. Here the young man was installed as clerk, soon becoming a partner and chief manager of the business. At the same time he began the study of surveying, using the instruments of Squire Burhaus, one of the principal men of the village. In the spring of 1852 he engaged with one John J. Snyder, at a salary of twenty dollars a month, to survey Ulster county with a view to publishing a map. The threatened disastrous outcome of the

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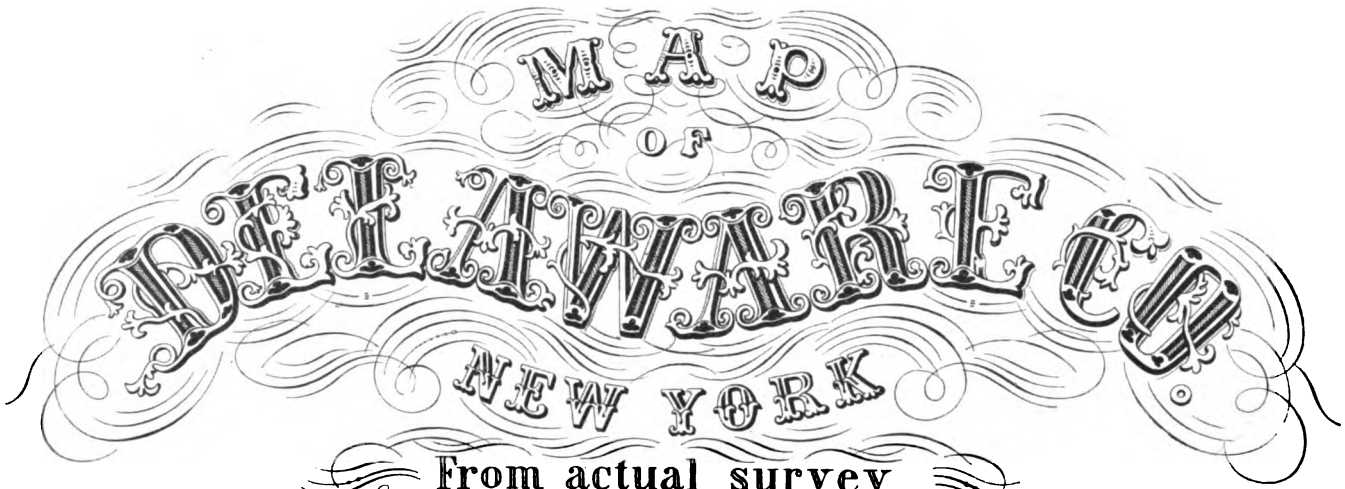

From actual survey
BY JAY GOULD
Published by COLLINS G. KEENEY No. 17 & 19 Minor St
PHILADELPHIA
1856

FAC-SIMILE OF HEADING OF ORIGINAL MAP.

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summer's work was described by Gould in a letter to a friend written that fall. "Mr. Snyder could not support the expense of the survey, and the whole concern was likely to fall to the ground, when Mr. Brink, the other gentleman surveying, and myself, stepped in and took the responsibility of completing the work. We quickly found another partner, a Mr. Tillson, of Rosendale."

Gould afterward sold out to these partners his own interest and entered their employ at a salary of thirty dollars a month. By this cautious move, as he wrote at the time, he had a "chance of observing without risk whether it is a business that will warrant a safe employment to those who would make a little money." The venture proved successful, however, and upon the strength of it, on his own account, between 1853 and 1856 Gould surveyed and published maps of the town of Cohoes, and of Albany, Sullivan and Delaware counties. During the same period he also had charge of expeditions for the survey of counties in Ohio and Michigan, and surveyed for a railway between Newbury and Syracuse, and for the Albany and Muscayuna Plank Road.

Contemporaneous with the survey of Delaware, he also carefully collected data for a history of the county. The manuscript for this he sent to his publisher in Philadelphia, along with the map. The calamity which befell him at this juncture is best told in his own brave words to his old school teacher, written under date of April 29, 1856: "I am under the unpleasant necessity of informing you of the total destruction by fire of my history of Delaware county. . . . I shall leave for Philadelphia in the morning to ascertain the exact state of affairs. If nothing less can be done, I shall set myself hard at work to re-write it. As you know, I am not in the habit of backing out of what I undertake, and shall write night and day until it is completed." A few proof sheets of the book escaped the fire, while portions from it had been published from advance sheets in the "Bloomville Mirror." But the greater part had to be rewritten, mainly from memory. And yet young Gould accomplished this difficult task in a phenomenally short space of time, by "night and day," as he had said, so that the book was issued from the press in September, 1856. In fact, the vast amount of work which had been crowded into these few years since leaving school seems utterly impossible, looking back upon it, for any one human being, and especially so when we learn that during this time Gould was twice seriously sick. He was once prostrated by typhoid fever and once by pneumonia.

What he did was accomplished by consummate industry. The young man slept only three to five hours out of the twenty-four, and taxed his energies to the utmost while awake.

A description of Gould's famous "History of Delaware County" cannot be given here. It must suffice to say that it is a truly remarkable work, worthy the pen of any author, at the age of twenty. There is no particular attempt at literary polish; the style is straightforward and sincere, and bears the unmistakable stamp of true genius. It might be said here, that a literary life was the

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dream of Gould's early years, but that he drifted into a business career, under the conviction that he did not possess sufficient education for the kind of literary achievement he aspired to. As for the story frequently met that in later life he attempted to buy up the entire edition of the "History," so as to withdraw it from the public eye, there is absolutely no foundation for it. On the contrary, he was always rather proud of the book, as indeed he must needs have been.

HISTORY

OF

DELAWARE COUNTY,

AND

Border Wars of New York.

CONTAINING

A SKETCH OF THE EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN THE COUNTY,

AND

A HISTORY OF THE

LATE ANTI-RENT DIFFICULTIES IN DELAWARE

WITH

Other Historical and Miscellaneous Matter,

NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

BY JAY GOULD.

ROXBURY:
KEENY & GOULD, PUBLISHERS.
1856.

REDUCED FAC-SIMILE OF TITLE PAGE.

While preparing his history, Gould had become interested with a Mr. Zadoc Pratt, of Prattsville, N. Y., in the tannery business. As soon as the book was off his hands, he hastened to the wilds of Western Pennsylvania and founded the town of Gouldsboro, named after himself. In his own language, "It was right in the woods, fifteen miles from any place. I went in there and chopped down the first tree. We had a portable saw-mill, and we sawed the tree up, and that day we built a blacksmith's shop out of the timber. I slept in it that night, on a bed made of hemlock boughs. We went on and built the tannery. It was a very large one, the largest in the country at that time." Gould developed the new town in a phenomenal manner. He built a plank road, organized a stage route, erected a schoool-house, and secured postal facilities, himself becoming postmaster.

The Gouldsboro business eventually involved Mr. Gould in a sensational affair which was made the foundation of the first serious assault upon his character. These old charges are frequently reiterated to this day, in the face of overwhelming proofs to the contrary. The account of this episode to follow, it is believed, is the only one in print in any degree approaching the truth, if we except Mr. Gould's own account of the trouble.

Mr. Gould presently bought out his partner, Mr. Pratt, and formed an alliance with the New York leather firm of Charles M. Leupp & Co. The final adjustment was in the nature of a three-sided partnership, with Mr. C. M. Leupp and Mr. D. W. Lee, as silent partners. The firm style of "Jay

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Gould & Co." was adopted. Mr. Gould was the only visible member of this company. The connection of the New York partners, at their suggestion, was kept secret. The details of this arrangement are better left to the description of Mr. Gould himself, a little further on.

The tannery was merely one of many interests at Gouldsboro. Mills had been built and various enterprises established peculiar to the development of a new country. Under Mr. Gould, Mr. J. A. Dubois (now dead) acted as a sort of general superintendent or supervisor of the diverse interests. In Gould's absence, Dubois assumed the management.

Mr. Abraham Steers, in turn, would naturally be classed as the third in control, although he enjoyed the special confidential relation of a sort of private secretary and business correspondent to Gould. He had Gould's full confidence so far as all business transactions were concerned. He opened all letters in Gould's absence, and in cases of importance either forwarded them or sent a brief of their contents. Mr. Steers was thus thoroughly conversant with every detail of the business. He had access to the books of the firm, and during a part of the time himself kept them. He and Mr. Dubois were the only men under Gould who carried keys to the company's safe in the tannery office. In the absence of both Gould and Dubois, Mr. Steers became the general manager in charge.

There was another man named Garrison who might be described as the overseer or working "boss" of the men in the tannery, but who had no part in transacting the Company's business.

On the evening of October 5, 1859, Mr. Charles M. Leupp, senior partner in the firm of "Jay Gould & Co." committed suicide at his home in New York City. Indications of insanity had appeared a year previous, and had gradually fixed themselves upon the unfortunate man. This sad occurrence had no direct connection with the business at Gouldsboro, but it was afterwards dragged into the stories set afloat, and so is introduced here.

The other partner, Mr. D. Williamson Lee, was the brother-in-law of the suicide. In his own right, and as representing Mr. Leupp's heirs, Lee now controlled, nominally, a two-third interest in the Gouldsboro business, although, as we learn from Gould's statement hereafter, this claim was swallowed up by the indebtedness of the New York House to Gould, After the death of Mr. Leupp, Gould made frequent requests for a statement and settlement of the accounts between the two firms. For some inexplicable reason this was denied by Lee on one pretext and another. Gould became alarmed, suspecting the insolvency of Leupp & Co., while Lee in turn appears to have conceived the plan of a high-handed movement against Gould with a view to freezing him out of the Gouldsboro business.

With a young countryman from the interior of New York not yet twenty-four years of age to deal with this should have been an easy task for the experienced New York merchant. But if Lee thought so, he reckoned without his host. If there was any lack of sophistication on Gould's part, inherent genius fully compensated for

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it. The frail frame of that modest but self-reliant young partner concealed one of the greatest generals of modern times—one who could match maneuvre with maneuvre and oppose strategy to strategy with a rapidity and brilliancy of execution which left the ablest opponent helpless and bewildered.

In his importunity for a settlement Gould called upon Lee a number of times at the merchant's New York office. In the latter part of February, 1860, Lee at length agreed to go over the accounts, and suggested that Gould send to Gouldsboro for Superintendent Dubois. Gould did so, whereupon, keeping both men in the city by the trick of a false appointment, and putting forth the plea of sickness to account for his non-appearance, Lee hurried into Pennsylvania.

During the absence of Dubois, Mr. Steers was very much surprised one afternoon to see Mr. Lee walk into the tannery office at Gouldsboro, accompanied by several gentlemen. Lee at once conferred with Garrison, the tannery foreman. Immediately thereafter he inquired for Steers. Taking him aside he began to flatter him declaring that he had heard in New York of the young man's ability and faithfullness and intended at once to see what could be done to advance him. Mr. Steers was somewhat dazed by this strange effusion of gratitude from a person he had never seen before, yet he did not for a moment suspect that anything was wrong.

Mr. Lee asked for the key of the safe, but this Steers declined to surrender, stating that his explicit instructions did not permit him to give it up to any one except on Mr. Gould's order. Thereupon Garrison, the tannery boss, was dispatched to the wife of Mr. Dubois with a request for the Superintendent's key. Having no suspicion of Garrison, Mrs. Dubois gave it up. By means of this key, thus obtained, Lee effected an entrance into the Company's safe about sundown.

It should be said that from Lee's first appearance in Gouldsboro, Garrison intelligently co-operated with him, being evidently forewarned and one of the conspirators. An intimate associate of Garrison afterwards declared that the overseer had received either $1,000 or $2,000 from Lee for his services.

On the evening of the day of his arrival, before the tannery workmen separated for their homes, Lee appointed a special meeting for that night in the tannery office, when he announced he would make some important statements to the men. At the meeting thus assembled a lengthy paper was read, made up of charges against Gould. In this document Lee claimed to be the real proprietor of the Gouldsboro enterprise, and accused Gould of mismanagement, of refusing to render any account of the business, and of keeping the Company's books in an undecipherable fashion only understood by himself. Lee affirmed that $25,000 had been sent from New York to be applied to the debts of the firm, and that Gould had misappropriated this money and refused to render any account for it.

All this was set forth with a considerable flourish, and at great length. Lee announced that he, as the rightful owner, had come to take possess-

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ion of his own, and to straighten out the tangle Gould had brought the business into. He exhorted the men to be true to him in the matter, and intimated that it would be to their interest to do so, as he had come to inaugurate better times for all.

At the conclusion of this startling harangue an invitation to speak was extended to any one who had ought to answer to the charges made. Young Steers made the grave mistake of accepting this invitation in good faith. He supposed Mr. Gould's partner to be laboring, in some degree at least, under a delusion, and he undertook to enlighten him. Had he fathomed the real enormity and audacity of Mr. Lee's scheme he might have been more discreet.

However, he stepped upon a bundle of hides and undertook to reply. He stated that no such sum as $25,000 had been received from New York for any purpose; that $1,000 had been received and that Mr. Lee, if he cared to look, would find this sum in the safe. He challenged Lee to examine the file of his own letters in the office and see just what had been sent. He also invited them to examine the books if they thought the accounts undecipherable or crooked in any way. He further stated that if anything was wrong, either with the accounts or the correspondence of Mr. Gould, that he, Steers, and not Gould, was to blame, as the one having them in charge.

But this sort of thing was evidently not laid down in Mr. Lee's program. The young clerk, whom he had a few hours before so highly flattered, he now ordered thrown out of the tannery. This command was obeyed quite literally. Several pair of rough hands at once laid hold of Mr. Steers and he was pitched out the door, his coat being torn off his back and his person receiving several painful bruises in the operation.

After this experience Steers warned the employees to have nothing to do with Lee. Most of them heeded the advice. A few others, the more rowdy element, imitated their foreman and cast in their lot with the conspirators. Garrison also induced a number of his cronies and relatives to join with him, while these forces were still further augmented by a company of armed constables from Scranton.

Such was the situation when Gould and Dubois returned to Gouldsboro. Gould based his subsequent course upon the advice of his friend and counsel, ex-Gov. Reeder, chief executive of Kansas during the famous Kansas-Nebraska agitation. Gould was universally popular among the sturdy countrymen round about Gouldsboro. His operations in the development of the country had made him their benefactor. Assembling from every direction they volunteered their assistance. Gould organized a company of about fifty young men and moved on the tannery. The defenders, most of them cowards at heart, and half of them full of whiskey, were sadly demoralized at the outset. A number of them had revolvers, and began firing among themselves, wildly and at random. Several of them were wounded, but they afterward acknowledged that every wound suffered on their side, was inflicted by their own frightened men. Gould led his men in person, forced an entrance, and very soon was in possession of the tannery.

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From the time of its occurence to the present, this unfortunate affair has been made to do service in innumerable attacks upon Mr. Gould. Murat Halstead's book, already noticed, makes it the vehicle for one of the most outrageous slanders ever suffered by an innocent man. Under such circumstances the claims of justice compel us, even at the risk of being tedious, to sift the matter to the bottom, Both principals in the trouble made public statements at the time. That of Mr. Lee was published in the Wilkesbarre (Pa.) "Union," for March 14, 1860, and reprinted in the New York "Herald" three days later. We give it here entire:

"All the hides in the Gouldsboro tannery with the exception of two thousand belonging to J. B. Alley, of Boston, were owned by the firm of Charles M. Leupp & Co., of New York, of which I am the surviving partner. Two-thirds of the real estate also belonged to Charles M. Leupp & Co., their interest in which I also represented. On my arrival at Gouldsboro on the 29th of February last; quiet possession was taken by me of the tannery and its contents, together with the horses, office, books and accounts, bark, wood, etc., and I remained in quiet possession until Tuesday, the Sixth of March, when I was forcibly ejected by an armed mob. Mr. Garrison, foreman of the tannery, and who may be supposed to have known who were the owners and his employers, on my arrival took my orders and proceeded to execute them as a matter of course, beginning at once to raise from the vats about seven thousand sides of leather, which after being partially dried and prepared for market, had been, by the orders from New York of Mr. Gould, thrown back into the vats, to the injury of the leather, the delay of its manufacture, and the damage of the business of my firm. This act of bad faith on Mr. Gould's part, combined with the fact of utter neglect of the business of the tannery—he not having been there for a period of over five months, and the people employed being unpaid by him and mutinous, were reasons compelling me to take possession of the tannery for the protection of my own property and that of others committed to my charge. The fact of my quiet possession was evident from my making up the accounts, paying arrearages, procuring supplies for horses and men, and being at the office daily to attend to the general business of the concern.

"Mr. C. C. Niebuhr, of New York, having charge of a portion of the business of Charles M. Leupp & Co., having been there for a month previously to watch over their interests, was also at the office daily, to attend to any business which it might be necessary to transact. Mr. Gould arrived at the tannery on the evening of Saturday, March 3, and was at once notified by me accompanied by Mr. Niebuhr, that I was in quiet possession, and that no other party could obtain possession except by the usual process of law. As it was evident from various circumstances that an attempt to take the tannery by force would be made by Mr. Gould, twelve or fifteen men, in addition to our own, were employed in guarding it—the operations of the business being steadily continued. We remained

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in the tannery all Sunday night, and seeing on Monday that an attack was inevitable, I sent to Scranton for assistance to aid in repelling it. We remained in the tannery all Monday night. About two o'clock on Tuesday morning we were joined by ten men from Scranton, who, with one or two exceptions, were armed with revolvers. With this addition to our numbers, especially considering their weapons, we expected to be able to hold the tannery against a considerable force. About ten and a half o'clock on Tuesday morning the lock was wrenched from the stable, the men having been concentrated into the tannery, and the stable being unguarded. A little past twelve the tannery itself was attacked by a mob, variously estimated at from 180 to 250 men, armed with axes, muskets, rifles and other weapons. Without a demand of possession or summons to surrender, the doors were beaten in, and but a few blows had been struck by the assailants before they began to fire ball and buck shot through the building, raking it in every direction. For reasons best known to themselves, the gentlemen from Scranton did not appear at all on the scene of action, and though as vigorous a defense was made by a force of fifteen men in the story attacked with tannery stickes, stones and four revolvers, as was possible against such overwhelming odds, the tannery was finally carried on all sides, and those who did not escape were violently flung from the windows and doors, whilst the assailants rushed through the building, yelling like Indians, pursuing the fugitives with their guns in every direction. In the action many contusions were received and four gun-shot wounds, and had it not been for the large number of sides of leather hung up in the lofts, very few of the defending party would have escaped without wounds."

Mr. Gould's statement appeared a week later in the "Union" for March 21, and was reprinted in the "Herald," on March 23. It is of considerable length, but it is interesting and serves to throw a flood of light upon the whole subject. It begins:

"On the 28th of January, 1859, I sold to Charles M. Leupp and D. W. Lee one-third each of the Gouldsboro tannery, I, however, to be the acting and sole known partner, for which service Charles M. Leupp and D. W. Lee each agreed to pay me a fixed sum. The objects of putting the affairs of the Gouldsboro tannery in this shape, Mr. Leupp informed me at the time were two-fold: First, to make two-name paper, and second, that they feared a knowledge that they were directly interested in manufacturing would affect the standing of their paper in market. At the time of the sale referred to above, or subsequently, I was upon Leupp & Co,'s paper for upwards of $100,000. I did this upon the assurance of Mr. Leupp that I should always have sufficient leather and hides belonging to them in my possession to cover the amount of such endorsements, and in addition to which they were owing me a large sum of money by virtue of which I held a lien upon the leather belonging to Leupp & Co., in the Gouldsboro tannery.

"Mr. Leupp committed suicide on

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the 6th of October, dissolving the firm of Leupp & Co., and consequently they bought no new hides, and the leather becoming tanned and sent away from the tannery, my collateral security, of course, grew less and less. This state of facts, coupled with grave doubts as to the solvency of the firm, induced me to call upon Mr. Lee and request a statement of the affairs of the house, which he politely declined to do, giving as a reason that other parties had made the same request, which he had declined, and that no party had a right to make such request until Leupp & Co. had gone to protest.

"On the 19th and 28th of December last, I repurchased of Mr. Lee, (who represented himself as acting not only for himself, but with an unconditional authority from the representative of the other interest,) their entire interest in the establishment and personal property, and have continued uniformly to act in good faith, relying upon said purchase with, as I supposed, the full sanction and concurrence of Mr. Lee and those for whom he acted, and as an evidence have several letters from him comfirming my conviction that he did so think.

"I continued to send in the leather slowly until the quantity in my possession ran considerably below the amount for which I was upon their paper, to say nothing of my own claims. I kept constantly urging a settlement of our affairs, which upon various pretexts was delayed. As many as two or three definite appointments were made by me with Mr. Lee for such purpose. The first time he apologized for want of time, to which I promptly responded that I would furnish a book-keeper at my own expense, to which he replied that he did not care to have a stranger look over their books, and the last time, in the presence of a witness he declined to furnish the accounts at all.

"Under this state of facts, my attorney, Hon A. H. Reeder, addressed them a letter, recapitulating in substance the above facts, at the close of which he says: 'Under these circumstances it appears to me that the firm of Jay Gould ought by all means to withhold from them the leather, unless this account is satisfactorily adjusted,' and until otherwise convinced I shall act upon that opinion.

"Mr. Lee made a definite appointment to make up the accounts and have them ready by Saturday, February 25. I wrote to my agent at Gouldsboro to come down to New York. Mr. Dubois came down on Monday, and on Tuesday, we called upon Mr. Lee. The account had not been made out as agreed, and Mr. Lee, in the presence of Mr. Dubois, declined to make it out at all, but afterwards desired us to see him the following day. My agent remained over in the city on the 29th, agreeably to appointment, and word was given out that Mr. Lee was unwell.

"Instead of meeting us, however, on Wednesday, and instead of being sick, Mr. Lee came out to Gouldsboro on that day (leaving the inference that the appointment was only a ruse to effect our absence, and thereby enable him to effect his purpose and succeed in getting possession of a small portion of the property, if, indeed, it could be called any possession at all).

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"As soon as I received notice of the above facts, I immediately came to Pennsylvania and submitted my papers and my rights to eminent counsel, under whose instructions I acted.

"I arrived at Gouldsboro on Monday evening, March 5, and went down to the tannery, found it strongly barricaded and garrisoned by a force of armed men, variously estimated from thirty to forty strong, with a single opening large enough to pass in. I went in, and was immediately surrounded by a body of armed men, some ten or twelve in number, and my life threatened if I did not immediately withdraw. On Monday afternoon Mr. Lee dispatched a messenger to Scranton, to hire a body of fighting men, and his lawyer, Willard, who was the messenger, returned to Gouldsboro with them about one o'clock on Tuesday morning. The price paid or agreed to be paid these men, I am informed, varied from $25 to $50 for the occasion, and one gentlemen in Scranton informed me that he was offered $100 to join the company, which he declined.

"About ten o'clock on Tuesday morning the citizens of the town and adjoining counties of Monroe and Wayne, commenced collecting until, as my opponents assert, there were two hundred to two hundred and fifty men. I mounted the steps of my office and addressed them briefly, stating the condition of matters—that I was surprised to see so large a body of volunteers collected, inasmuch as I had not hired or requested a single person to be present. After my closing address I demanded possession, which was refused. I then quietly selected fifty men, commanding the reserve to keep aloof. I divided them into two companies, one of which I dispatched to the upper end of the building, directing them to take off the boards while I headed the other to open a large front door. I burst open the door and sprang in. I was immediately saluted with a shower of balls, forcing my men to retire; and I brought them up a second time, and we took a second full broad side compelling us a second time to fall back. Up to this time not a shot was fired nor a word spoken by one of my men —a third time and pressed them into the building, and by this time the company at the other end of the tannery had succeeded in effecting an entrance, and the firing now became general on all sides, and the bullets were whistling in every direction. After a hard contested struggle on both sides we became the victors, and our opponents went flying from the tannery, some of them making fearful leaps from the second story. The contest being over, I immediately called upon every man to desist, and quiet was once more restored, and I immediately threw the tannery open and set my men, who had been temporarily thrown out of employment to make room for the armed force of my opponents, at work. For whatever assistence I received I am indebted to the citizens of the neighhood and adjoining counties, who volunteered their services, except, of course, my own men, who with one or two exceptions were with us; and I did not, as is well known, hire or solicit a single individual. Prior to the engagement, I used the most vigilant care to prevent the use of a sin-

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gle drop of liquor by my men, as it is a well known fact that I neither use it myself nor countenance its use by others; and therefore imagine my surprise and astonishment when I was informed by the hotel proprietor at Gouldsboro that Mr. Lee had instructed him to give the outsiders all the liquor they could drink, and that many of them actually drank at his expense. I was myself unarmed, and so distinctly stated before the engagement; and never having owned, loaded or fired a pistol in my life, I did not think myself a dangerous opponent. The following correspondence may not be out of place at this time.

"NEW YORK, DEC. 12, 1859.

"MESSRS. CHAS. M. LEUPP & CO.:

"As you have been selling the leather manufactured by me at the Gouldsboro tannery, will you do me the kindness to say if I have not made the largest and generally larger gains and quicker time than any tanner who has tanned for your house for the past thirty years.

"JAY GOULD, 39 Spruce St."

"NEW YORK, Dec. 29, 1859.

"JAY GOULD, ESQ.:—We have your letter of the 12th inst., which would have received earlier attention, but for a pressure of business and a knowledge that you did not immediately require it. Since you have been tanning for our house, yours has been the quickest tannage which our books record, showing in one instance the unusual fact of a sale of all the leather before the maturity of the hide notes. The gains also have been large, ranging as high as eighty-six per cent. on Orinocos; and we are happy to be able to verify these facts by the records, should you wish to look them over.

"CHAS. M. LEUPP & CO."

With these statements from both sides before us, let us turn to the marvelous version of the affair which Murat Halstead, in 1892, lays before us. He says:

"After a while Mr. Gould bought out his partner (Zadoc Pratt), obtained the needed funds from Charles M. Leupp, a hide and leather merchant of New York City. They formed a partnership. All went quietly for awhile, and then the daring ventures and schemes of Mr. Gould, the resident partner, attracted universal attention. This alarmed the New York house, which traded under the name of Leupp & Lee, and they sent their bookkeeper to investigate the affairs at the tannery.

"This excellent man could only report undecipherable accounts. He told his employers that he thought the tannery was badly involved, and that the New York house was probably in the same unfortunate plight.

"Young Gould had gone into speculations in hides and other tanneries, which might and might not have turned out well, but the old-fashioned notions of Mr. Leupp were shocked, and when he found that his partner had bought not only all the hides then in the market, but all that were to arrive in the ensuing six months, he literally lost his reason and shot himself after a stormy interview with Gould, who remained imperturbably cool and simply turned on his heel and left the office. Mr. Leupp lived in what was then called the Baretta Mansion, corner of twenty-fifth street and Madison Avenue, New York

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City, which cost in low price time $150,000 to build, and which was filled with costly furniture and rare products of pencil and chisel.

"On the death of their common partner, Gould and Lee made a dash for the property in Gouldsboro. Prior to the fatal shot, Gould had arranged with Congressman Alley, of Massachusetts, to take the works, and thus relieve Leupp & Lee; but the suicide of the senior partner stopped the consummation of this plan, and, Gould always insisted, stopped the way to a profitable continuance of the works. Both Gould and Lee were men of nerve, and both determined to get and hold the tannery. Lee reached it first and garrisoned it with the employees. Information was received that Gould intended to use force, and preparations were made to deceive and repel him."

Thus far we have the language of the author of the book, and the network of falsehoods and impossibilities here presented constitute one of the most outlandish fabrics which the unbridled imagination of man ever wove about an actual occurence. Of course we recognize the improbability that Halstead's own pen indited the words, but he has made himself responsible for them and for everything else in the book. The account continues with extracts from the statements of Lee and Gould as they ap- in the "Herald," copied from the "Wilkesbarre Union." But even in making these quotations the author appears unable to deal honestly with the subject. He begins with the declaration that "The New York Herald of March 16th, 1860, thus describes the battle," and then introduces a brief portion of Lee's statement, concealing the fact, however, that Lee, and not the "Herald" is the author. The account really appears in the "Herald" for March 17th, not 16th, but an inaccuracy of this sort is evidently a small matter to one accustomed to resort to such gross deceptions.

But not content with the presentation of Lee's statement as an impartial account by some "Herald" correspondent, our ingenious author even improves upon Lee's account with a cunning attempt to make it appear that Lee had only fifteen men, by the omission of all reference to the stampede of the Scranton hirelings.

On the other side, from Gould's important statement only a meagre and distorded extract is allowed, describing the capture of the tannery. But even here also an important part is omitted, and the quotation patched up to conceal the fact. And this comprehends the entire reference to the Gouldsboro trouble as found in Halstead's "Life of Gould." The reference to the "Herald" shows that our author was familiar with the statements of both Lee and Gould. And yet he has deliberately concocted infamous slanders against Gould not hinted at in the evidence, even if one should accept Lee's statement *in toto*, and disregard altogether Gould's side of the story.

This romancer tells us that the trouble originated in "daring ventures and schemes" of speculation on Gould's part, which "attracted universal attention." If true, why did Lee omit all hint of such conduct in his statements, both before the tan-

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nery men and in the "Wilkesbarre Union?" He stooped to manifestly untenable representations on both those occasions in order to find an excuse for his course. And yet did he wholly overlook a real reason, ready to hand, such as unauthorized speculations on Gould's part which threatened ruin to the firm? As a matter of fact, there is not the tiniest shred of foundation for this statement.

We next learn that the New York house was "alarmed," sent their book-keeper to "investigate," and that "this excellent man could only report undecipherable accounts." The man who kept Mr. Gould's books at Gouldsboro, and knew all about them, told the writer that this statement was one of the most bare-faced fabrications he ever encountered. There was no "undecipherable accounts," there was no "excellent man" sent on to investigate, and there was no report brought back by him that "the tannery was badly involved and that the New York house was probably in the same unfortunate plight." We have already seen how the scare-crow of "undecipherable accounts" was first introduced by Lee in his statement to the men at the night meeting in the tannery, and how the allegation was denied by one of the employees, who challenged to an examination of the books and was unceremoniously thrown out of the office for his pains. But how this skeleton was contrived to be resurrected for Halstead's book is a mystery.

But among the many wretched slanders manufactured in this connection, there is one which transcends all others in infamy and atrocity. This Halstead gives to us in these words: "The old-fashioned notions of Mr. Leupp were shocked, and when he found that his partner had bought not only all the hides then in the market, but all that were to arrive in the ensuing six months, he literally lost his reason and shot himself after a stormy interview with Gould, who remained imperturbably cool and simply turned on his heel and left the office." This infamous lie simply hangs in mid-air, without a fact within sight to attach itself to.

Mr. Leupp's suicide occured on the evening of October 5th, 1859, five months before the Gouldsboro affair. This is sufficient in itself to thoroughly discredit the blundering attempt to connect the two things. Our author realizes this, and endeavors to conceal from his reader the fact of the intervening period. Thus he immediately follows his sensational fiction of the suicide occurring after an interview with Gould, with the remarkable statement, "On the death of their common partner Gould and Lee made a dash for the property in Gouldsboro."

In truth, as already said, Gould did not speculate. He was not in Mr. Leupp's office just prior to the suicide. Not only did he not have a "stormy interview" then, but he had no such interview with Mr. Leupp throughout the history of their dealings together. As a matter of fact Mr. Leupp did not commit suicide at his office, but at his home, in the evening, just after dinner. Up to the time of this sad affair there had been absolutely, no misunderstanding or dissatisfaction of any kind between

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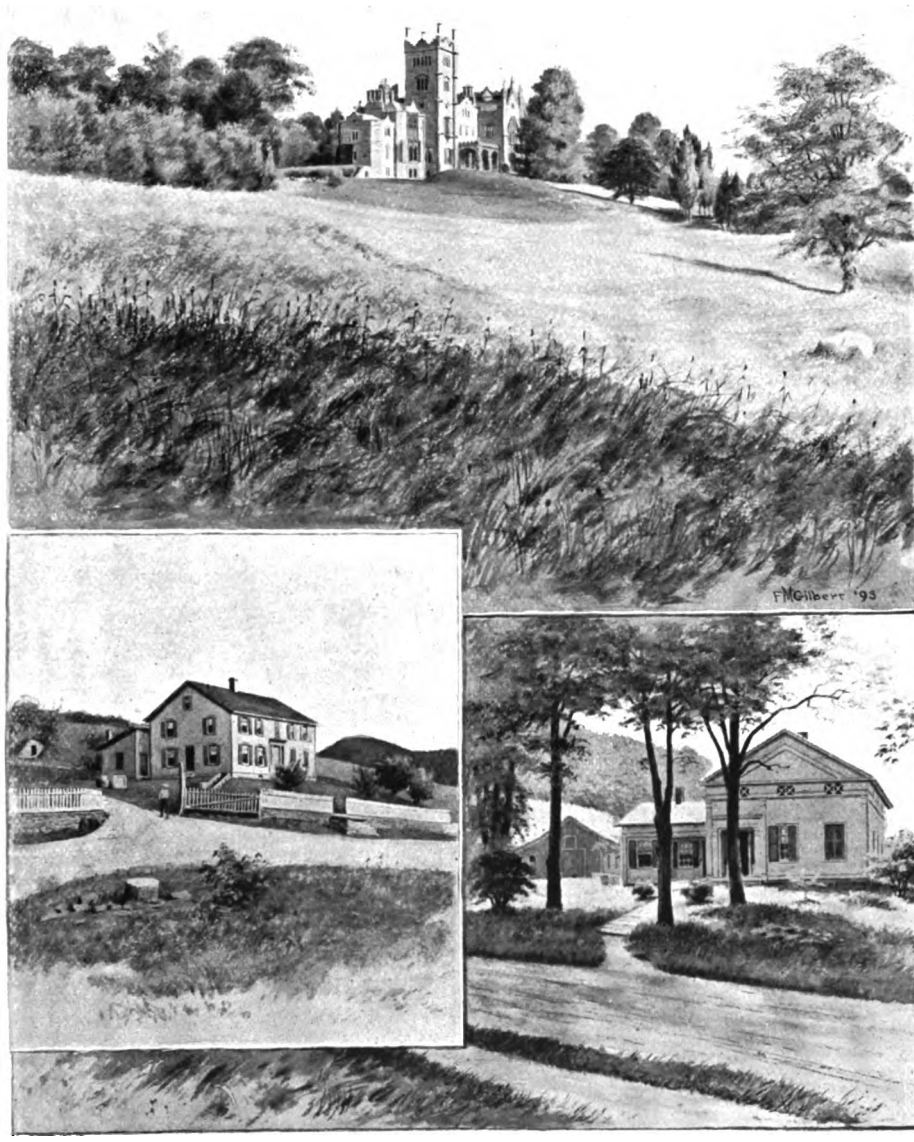

HOMES OF JAY GOULD.

Lyndhurst—Irvington-on-Hudson.
Birthplace—West Settlement, Roxbury, Delaware Co.—Residence.

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Gould and the firm of Charles M. Leupp & Co. We have the sworn testimony of Mr. Lee himself as to all this, and surely this ought to be sufficient. Upon the strength of Mr. Lee's statement in the matter we can even say that there was nothing in any of Mr. Leupp's business relations, whether with Gould or any other man, which would have justified the least concern of mind.

The necessity of burying this outrageous slander once for all, justifies the citation of the proof.

The verdict of the coroner's jury in Mr. Leupp's case was that "the deceased came to his death by a gunshot wound, at his own hand, while laboring under fixed derangement of mind."

At the inquest, Mr. Lee gave this testimony: "I am the partner and brother-in-law of the deceased ... I have been in partnership with Mr. Leupp about fourteen years ... During the past six months I have frequently observed on the part of Mr. Leupp a tendency to depression of spirits, with corresponding elevation ... I have noticed these fits of excitement and depression ever since last October [several months before the partnership with Gould was entered into at all], and increasing in frequency, and almost a continuous depression of spirits during the last six or eight months ... During the last six weeks or two months the depression was continuous almost without reaction, and became more and more intense to the end ... During these six weeks Mr. Leupp had given evidence of fixed derangement of mind; he was subject to hallucinations of almost every imaginable variety upon almost every subject, without any support or basis in the actual circumstances in which he was placed ... I saw that he was absolutely insane ... I spoke to his friend and physician, Dr. A. V. Williams, of Bloomingdale, on Sunday ... and expressed my conviction that Leupp was insane ... I told the doctor that I should immediately place Mr. Leupp under restraint, which of course I could not do without a medical certificate; *there was nothing in the facts of Mr. Leupp's personal, family, social, property or commercial condition, so far as I am aware, to justify any apprehension or distress on his part.*"

Shepherd Knapp, on the same occasion, also testified: "I was a partner of Mr. Gideon Lee, father of Mrs. Leupp; I have known Mr. Leupp intimately, and I may say I have been his confidential friend; I have seen Mr. Leupp frequently during the last five or six weeks, and my view of his case corresponds exactly with that of Mr. Lee who has been examined; *there was nothing to my knowledge in the mercantile, business, personal, or other relations of Mr. Leupp to justify the apprehensions and fears under which Mr. Leupp labored.*"

In view of these facts, what becomes of Murat Halstead's lurid catalogue of daring adventures, speculations, undecipherable accounts, threatened ruin, and stormy interviews which shocked Mr. Leupp's "old-fashioned notions" and impelled him to self destruction? In verification of what we have presented, we refer our author to the daily papers of this city, for October 7, 1859, containing an account of the inquest,—although the thought occurs that it would

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have been far more satisfactory to have taken the trouble of such reference before the book was issued.

In turning from this subject, and the interminable array of slanders which have been based upon it, we give a letter never before published, written by Gould at the time, in self-justification, to a friend whom the rumors had disquieted.

"GOULDSBORO, PA., APRIL, 30, 1860.

"DEAR SIR:

. . . Mr. Lee since the beginning of this contest, has had every aid that strong friends, capital and the best legal advice in N. Y. could afford him. His N. Y. attorneys, Evarts and Southmayd have both been here to defend him. I have been alone, and have met them on their own chosen ground and they have found themselves on slippery footing and defeated every time. I have dared them in open court to name three good men that they would refer to and whose decision should be final and conclusive. Have they accepted it? They dare not do it, why? Because Mr. Lee and his counsel know it will not answer to submit his case to three disinterested men. *Mr. Lee must avoid the calm verdict of these disinterested men*, because perchance that verdict might place him in the *wrong*, and he is too proud to own or admit that he is wrong.

"I met Loring Andrews in Stroudsburg last week. He requested me to show him a copy of my proposition to refer to Thos. Watson and himself. I showed it to him and some of the other papers. He said unequivocally that he believed me in the right; that Lee's course was dishonorable and wrong, and lauded me for my courage and perseverance.

"Lee has replevied in all 4,200 sides of the leather and I have given a return bond for $30,000 and keep the leather. I have given these bonds in face of his own attempts to prevent it and the attempts of Burke; and as soon as the leather is finished and ready for market, I shall dispose of the same. Lee made an application to the court last week to appoint a receiver for the 4,200 sides replevied by him, Lee, and rebonded by myself on the grounds that they had *discovered* that they could not sustain a replevin. The Court told them that was *very obvious*, but it was a remedy of their own choice and the Court could not interfere. I then applied for a receiver for the balance of the leather and that will be decided on Wednesday next, when I trust I shall get one appointed of my own choosing, the receiver to hold the proceeds until the rights of the parties thereto are decided. If I make this point on them, they are completely cornered as they have applied for an injunction to stop my working the tannery and I have beaten them on that. They begin to show evident symptoms of weariness, and I fancy they are casting about for some way to get out of their troubles without a public verdict to decide that either party is right or wrong.

"On my part, I am just beginning to realize my own strength, and I have been no more ruffled or annoyed by this controversy than I would have been on a tour of pleasure. My friends here have not only the fullest confidence in my position, but in my ability to take care of myself; and those

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of my enemies who thought it an easy matter to ruin, intimidate and destroy me, have, I fancy, ere this, come to a far different conclusion.

" Mr. Lee had undertaken in an underhanded way to get a substitute appointed in my place as Postmaster at Gouldsboro. They got up a petition secretly, got it signed by parties at a distance and it was forwarded unbeknown to me, as they supposed, to Washington accompanied by an agent who was expected to return with the new commission. Imagine the surprise of Mr Lee's agent at meeting me in the Appointment office at Washington with a remonstrance signed by every tax-payer in the township excepting three, together with a certified copy of the taxpayers under the oath of the assessor as a voucher to the authenticity of my remonstrance. He left chagrined and mortified, and I am still Postmaster; and what is more, expect to continue; and it is yet a mystery to them how I had been able to anticipate their movements. This is only one of several attempts to annoy me, but that have more amused than annoyed me, because I have always defeated them on their own ground and with their own weapons.

Yours respectfully,
JAY GOULD."

Just at this point in Mr. Gould's career, the agitation of the Civil War began. Ex-Governor Reeder had planned to enter the Federal Army as a General, with Jay Gould as his chief of staff. But the sudden death of the Governor completely overturned these plans. An interesting speculation might be indulged as to the result had Mr. Gould's genius been turned into military channels, with the opportunity afforded by the great civil strife. But the Providence that disposes human events, ordained otherwise.

The financial difficulties of a friend at this junction turned the young man's mind away from thoughts of war. Mr. Daniel S. Miller, whose daughter Gould afterwards married, was a large holder of the securities of the Troy and Washington and Troy and Rutland Railroads. These properties had been almost wrecked by the bad management of other hands. Mr. Miller found his holdings depreciated to a figure which seemed irretrievable. The affairs were turned over to Gould, who at once manifested the genius for such undertakings which ever after characterized him. He began to build up the roads. He made them valuable properties, not merely by manipulating the stocks, but by putting the roads in shape to render efficient and economical public service. This he directed by careful personal supervision on the ground, going over every mile of the property. He succeeded in lifting the financial difficulties of the roads and presently effected a consolidation with the Saratoga, White Hall & Renssalear Railroad.

In the same way he took hold of the Erie road when it was trembling on the extreme brink of bankruptcy, and despite the opposition of such railroad kings of that day, as Daniel Drew and Commodore Vanderbilt, he made his line the chief highway across the Empire State. He achieved similar results with an investment in Cleveland and Pittsburgh stock, and did the same thing with the Union

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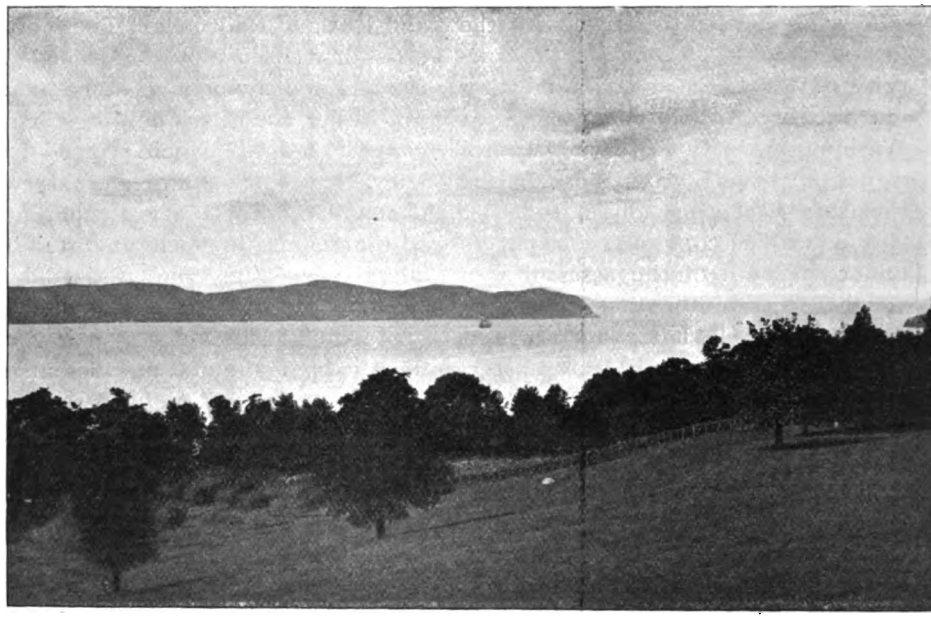
Pacific, although on a larger scale than in the case of any previous transaction. So also was it with the Texas Pacific and Missouri Pacific which with innumerable connecting lines, purchased or built, he developed into one of the most magnificient railroad systems of the world. But the details of these transactions, as also of his work in developing the great Western Union Telegraph system, in laying cables across the Atlantic, and in giving to New York City the Manhattan Rapid Transit system, cannot be entered into here. All are more or less familiar to the public, at whose hands however, in connection with almost every one of these enterprises, Gould suffered grevious wrong in reputation.

In the famous Knights of Labor strike on the Missouri Pacific system in 1885, Mr. Gould's character was vindicated by long suffering and patience with labor leaders who even thought to bulldoze and intimidate him. In his testimony before the Congressional Committee on this occasion, Mr. Gould said: "I am in favor of arbitration as an easy way of settling differences between corporations and their employees."

The organization of the Knights of Labor, on this occasion, received a blow in reputation from which it has never since quite recovered.



RIVER VIEW FROM LYNDHURST.

His brilliant success in the conduct of so many great ventures, coupled with the gross and uncorrected misrepresentations which followed him, had attached to Gould a sort of power of financial magic in the public mind. The existence of such a feeling is well known. Among other preposterous

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notions arising from this, he was for a long time credited with having precipitated the great financial panic of 1869, (Black Friday,) for the purpose of furthering some private gold speculations. Mr. G. P. Morosini, who knew more concerning his financial affairs than any other human being, thus effectually disposes of this slander: "He was not responsible for it. A man would hardly precipitate a panic and lose his own money, would he? The panic of 1873 left Mr. Gould comparatively a poor man. He had more reason to regret the disaster than almost any one else concerned. I doubt if any man parted with more cash and securities than did Mr. Gould by reason of that catastrophe."

An incident very different from this occurred in 1882, when the stability of the market was threatened by the persistent rumor that Mr. Gould was financially embarrassed. In this crisis Mr. Gould brought several gentlemen into his office, two of whom were Cyrus W. Field and Russell Sage, and laid before their astonished gaze $53,000,000 in gilt edge securities. It is needless to say that the danger passed.

Mr. Ellery Anderson, appointed by President Cleveland to investigate the affairs of the Union Pacific Railroad, secured an insight into Mr. Gould's affairs and methods. With these advantages he gives this testimony: "One thing always impressed me, and it is interesting in connection with current statements and some popular impressions of the man. It is this: I have always found, even to the most trivial detail, that Mr. Gould lived up to the whole nature of his obligations. Of course he was always reticent and careful about what he promised, but that promise was invariably fulfilled."

In the face of the misrepresentations based on Gould's connection with the Erie, the testimony of a son of the famous Ezra Cornell is noteworthy. Says Mr. Cornell: "He was the most misunderstood man in this country. My acquaintance with him began about twenty-five years ago, upon his ascension to the Presidency of the Erie Railway, and has continued until his death. . . . . Circumstances associated him with James Fisk, Jr. In every way Mr. Gould was the opposite of the late Mr. Fisk—socially, morally, religiously, in business affairs and in every possible respect. . . . . I regarded Mr. Gould as one of the most remarkable men America has produced. As a business man, he was the most far-sighted man I have ever known. He was the soul of honor in his personal integrity. His word passed in honor was as good as any bond he could make. He was never a stock gambler. He had no more to do with Black Friday than you had. In all his transactions he meant always to be strictly just, and took care to get what belonged to him. . . . Fisk undertook to steal the Albany & Susquehanna Railroad, but Mr. Gould had no connection with the matter except so far as legitimate means justified. . . . The Erie Railway has been owned in England during most, if not all of the last forty years. The newspaper reputation of Fisk and Gould, as they were always inseparably named . . . . shook the confidence of the European constituency, and the Lon-

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don bankers turned their proxies over to the control of General Dix. He came home with power to dethrone Mr. Gould from the Presidency . . . Gould, then only thirty-six years old, in the prime of life, proud of his official position, and ambitious to make a reputation as a railway manager, naturally resisted the onslaught, and attempted to hold his place by means of the opposing interests which he might control."

Concerning Gould's influence in Western Union, Mr. Cornell further testifies: "I succeeded my father, Ezra Cornell, in the Board of Directors of the Western Union Telegraph Company in 1868, and have been a director continually until now. . . . Looking back over the time during which he (Gould) has been in control, I have no hesitation in saying that his influence has been the most conservative and far-sighted of any ten successive years in the Company's history. He has desired to make the Western Union the great and only telegraph company in America. He has succeeded in covering the continent with its wires and offices, numbering of the latter now more than 20,000, including the cables connecting with the European Continent and with Mexico and the West Indies and thence to South America. His policy, which has been a cordial and earnest support of the recommendations of the experienced officials who have had charge of the details of management, has resulted in adding more to the value of the company during this time than was ever added in any twenty years of its preceding life."

One of the charges which has been most prejudicial to Mr. Gould's reputation, is the claim that he forced the venerable Cyrus W. Field out of Manhattan Railway stock. But nothing in reality could be farther from the truth. These men were intimately associated in this great enterprise, but while Mr. Gould was cool and careful as ever, Mr. Field was lost in enthusiasm as to the future prospects of the road. As the stock rose in value he bought huge blocks of it, securing money by putting the stock up as collateral. Mr. Gould warned him against over-loading, but in vain. At length, in a financial flurry, Mr. Field was caught with 88,000 shares of the stock, the par value of which, $8,800,000, had been boomed in the market to $15,000,000. As these values suddenly fell, absolute ruin stared Mr. Field in the face. Indeed the blow would have fallen, but for the timely assistance of Mr. Gould. Mr. Field's predicament was explained to Gould, and the latter took 78,000 shares of the stock at 120, paying therefor $9,360,000. The stock continued to decline and reached the low point of 77, before the reaction began. Mr. Gould's assistance, when none other could or would have rendered it, saved Mr. Field from utter ruin. Had Mr. Gould intended to take advantage of Field's necessities, instead of generously coming to his rescue, he might have waited for the stock to fall 77, or less, and then bought it in. As a matter of fact he well knew that the stock would continue to fall after his purchase from Field, yet he generously bought at a good price which would save his friend. Another evidence that he was not planning to secure Mr. Field's

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stock, nor was indeed prepared to receive it, was the fact that he did not wish to carry all he had taken from Field. Thus out of the 78,000 shares acquired, he immediately disposed of some 28,000 shares at the purchase price of 120. But many of Mr. Gould's friend's refused to touch the stock, even in small blocks at this price. Much less would any of them have been willing to take the entire load from Mr. Field. As a matter of fact this transaction was an act of generosity and sincere friendship, a deed of a kind to which Mr. Gould was not a stranger.

Yet spite of these facts, the persistence with which the charge of wrong done to Mr. Field has been pressed against Gould, requires that unequivocal testimony be put in evidence here as elsewhere. We have such testimony from John T. Terry, of the firm of E. D. Morgan & Co.

The New York Tribune for December 3, 1892, declared: "John T. Terry . . . has for years been one of Mr. Gould's most trusted counsellors . . . In the case of the sale of Mr. Field's Manhattan stock to Mr. Gould, Mr. Terry was the medium through which Mr. Field was able effectually to appeal to Mr. Gould's resources to assist Mr. Field in the time of his need. Mr. Terry's friends say that the confidential nature of his relations to the negotiations at that time forbids him to tell much of the secret history." Nevertheless, he has told enough to settle the point in question forever, as the following from his lips bears witness:

"Mr. Gould has been for years the subject of much misrepresentation and unreasonable abuse, partly from misapprehension and partly from malice. Even those of his transactions which have been beneficent in their character, and which have been prompted by the best motives, have been turned and twisted by attributing the worst possible motives to him. Take for example the case of Mr. Field and the Manhattan Railway. Mr. Gould was applied to for aid, and he generously loaned $1,000,000 of bonds, taking, therefor, no security whatever. This not being sufficient he purchased most reluctantly and at much personal inconvenience $5,000,000 of the stock of the Manhattan Elevated road at 120. A few days later he stated to me that he feared this was not sufficient to afford all relief needed, and he thought he would be obliged to take the remaining $2,800,000, which he did take at the same price and distributed all or the greater portion of it among his friends. But this was not the end. A few days later I was again asked to his office, when he said to me, the parties being present and he having been summoned to the city by telegraph at their request, although in wretched health: 'More assistance is needed, but I have declined to go any further. Won't you please look at their papers and see if you can suggest any way for them to obtain the money?'

"After looking into the matter, I said: 'Mr. Gould you have already done more than could reasonably be asked of any man, but I am sure that $300,000 more will be sufficient, and I think you can loan it safely, although the securities are not otherwise available.' He replied: 'Very well, I will draw the check.' Here was assistance rendered of over $10,000,-

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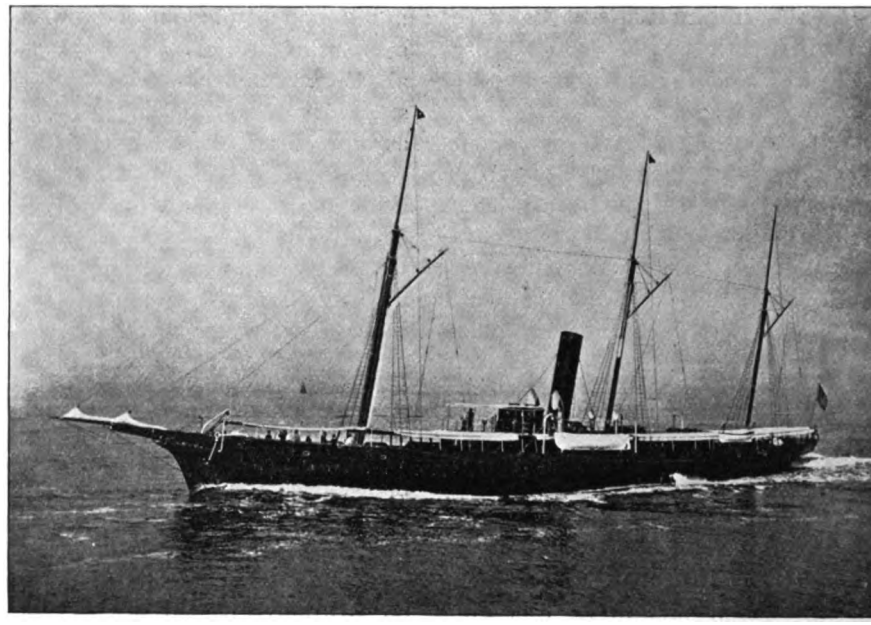
000, and although the stocks were purchased upon thirty days' time, the necessities of the case required immediate payment, which Mr. Gould made at much personal inconvenience.

"Now what was the view taken of this transaction by the public press? We read in large print, 'Mr. Gould has ruined Mr. Field,' and other phrases just as false. This transaction not only saved the parties, but beyond question saved a panic in New York. I will only add that the decline of the stock named within a few succeeding weeks was about $3,750, 000, and yet there are probably thousands and tens of thousands of persons here and abroad who believe that Mr. Field was wronged by Mr Gould."

This brings us, in closing, to a side of Mr. Gould's character of which the general public knew little or nothing —his generosity. Murat Halstead in his remarkable book, states that the panic of May 1884, left Gould "on the verge of failure." This was far indeed from the truth. Gould suffered with others at this time, but he was not in the least embarrassed. If his operations were less extended, or more quiet than formerly, the reason was very different from that supposed. The truth is that at this time, unknown to anyone except the persons concerned, Mr. Gould was extending substantial help to several embarrassed business men. And while affording such help he even bore blame to shield others, not willing to expose them to defend himself.



YACHT "ATLANTA."

For eighteen years Mr. Morosini kept Mr. Gould's private accounts. Under the heading of "Beneficence" one account was kept very secretly

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and the true significance of the expenditures there recorded was not openly admitted even between these two gentlemen.

When a new gift was made Morosini would ask, "What is this, Mr. Gould? Is it a loan?" "Yes," would be the reply, "one I shall not see again." During the last year Mr. Morosini kept the books, (1885), these "loans" recorded under "Beneficence" amounted to $165,000. At the time of the devastation of Memphis by yellow fever, in 1879, Mr. Gould had several generous sums transmitted to the sufferers. "I will give five thousand to the help of the people at once, and as much more when it is wanted, if you will fix it so that my name shall not appear in the transaction," was his direction to Gen. Eckert. The "as much more" was forthcoming, but the secret of the donor at length leaked out, to Mr. Gould's great annoyance.

Through his generous wife, until her death, and through his daughter, Miss Helen Gould, extensive gifts in charitable and religious directions were also constantly being made. Mr. Gould found that it saved him much heartless newspaper comment to leave such benefactions in the hands of these members of his family. A fair example of the persecution suffered through his very generousity, was the case of his subscription of $10,000 to the work of Church Extension in the Presbyterian Church. Knowledge of what he had done unfortunately got to the press, and here, as elsewhere, "he found those he desired to help embarrassed by uncharitable comment upon the bounty he bestowed." The "Atlanta Constitution," at the time of Mr. Gould's death, came near to the truth in this respect when it said:

"The trouble with Mr. Gould was that he did not make arrangements with the newspapers to herald his deeds of benevolence, and the result was that no one outside of his small circle of intimates and familiars knew the extent of them. He went about his charities as he did about his business, silently and shrewdly. In this day, benevolence that hides itself from the eyes of the quick-witted reporters, is open to the charge of eccentricity."

It is not generally known that Mr. Gould's death prevented a great benefaction to the City of New York which he had carefully mapped out for execution. This was to have been an institution on a scale more extensive than any similar one in the world, to provide free advantages in every department of industrial training and practical business education. The system would have been unique from many an ingenious feature contrived in Mr. Gould's mind. He had thought to live to execute his design; and did not provide for its fullfillment in the emergency of death.

In his family Mr. Gould inspired the greatest respect and love. His children saw and knew what the public never suspected—the real Jay Gould. Mrs. Gould was the daughter of the Hon. Daniel S. Miller, of Greenville, N. Y., and descendent from an English family which settled at Easthampton, Long Island, in early colonial days. Mr. and Mrs Gould were married on the 22d of January, 1863, at the home of the bride's parent, and in presence of

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some forty or fifty persons—newspaper tales of a secret marriage to the contrary notwithstanding. A reception attended by at least 400 people immediately followed the marriage.

The children of Mr. and Mrs. Gould, six in number, are George J. Gould, Edwin Gould, Helen Miller Gould, Howard Gould, Anna Gould and Frank J. Gould. Mr. Gould's estate by will was divided equally among them all, except that considerable special bequests were made to Mr. George Gould for his long services in the management of his father's affairs, and to Miss Helen Gould, for her motherly care of the younger children, as Mistress of the home, after Mrs. Gould's death. Miss Gould thus received as special gifts, both the the mansion on Fifth Ave., and also possession for a period of the country home, Lyndhurst, at Irvington, together with the magnificent green-house at the latter estate, and the splendid picture galleries, containing many rare works and a number of master studies, which adorn both houses.

Flowers, pictures and books indicate the triple direction in which Mr. Gould's tastes ran, and from which he derived his chief satisfaction and pleasure. He inherited the refinement and gentlemanly instincts to which his descent from cavalier ancestors naturally entitled him although the public realized the existence of these qualities as little as they suspected the gentle ancestry. Mr. Gould's home life was beautiful. His children honor his character and venerate his memory, holding them in special and jealous tenderness, in proportion to their appreciation and sympathy for his reputation as a public man. In proportion as they find false judgment passed upon him abroad, does their exclusive knowledge of the true man become a sort of sacred trust ; and inheriting, perhaps, the family pride, their hands would scarcely be the ones to lift the veil of misunderstanding.

The ambition of Mr. Gould's youth was a literary life. Who can say that the bitterness of misrepresentation may not have checked any recurrence to these early thoughts which the leisure of later years might have incited? The genius of the man and high degree of its possession is not questioned anywhere. In his chosen life's work he stands as greatly pre-eminent, one may say, as any of the world's heroes in theirs. What his genius and marvelous energies and powers of concentration might have achieved in any other direction, it is impossible to surmise. In future, perhaps, no thought will be oftener associated with his name than that expressed by Mr. Cornell, "He was the most misunderstood man in this country." It might be added that he was also the worst misrepresented.

FRANK ALLABEN.

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MISCELLANEA.

Mr. Bushrod C. Washington, of Charlestown, Jefferson county, W.Va., sends to the Baltimore *Sun* a copy of an interesting letter from the artist Rembrandt Peale, to the late Judge Bushrod Washington, a nephew of General Washington, executor of his wife, and inheritor of Mount Vernon from him. Mr. Washington writes, apropos of the recent notice of the Washington portrait in the Eaton collection bequeathed to the Peabody Institute: Peale states in his letter dated July 12, 1824: "There are only five painters living to whom Washington sat for his portrait, the oldest of whom is my father, whose best portrait was painted in 1795, immediately preceding the one executed by Gilbert Stuart. He sat to me at the same time. Trumbull's portrait was painted many years before, and this artist had not seen him for many years prior to his death. The fifth painter is my uncle, James Peale, who painted two minatures of him."

A report comes from Fort Gaines, Georgia, that twelve miles from there, on what is commonly known as the Mercier Place, is a mound which is said to be the largest known in the United States, and undoubtedly the work of the mound-builders of former generations. Whether it is the largest or not, it has the distinction of being the largest in Georgia. Its base covers more than two acres, and running up an angle of about forty-five degrees, it stands about one hundred feet high. Large oak trees several feet in diameter cover the sides, and stand as witnesses to the great age of the mound. Its historic interest lies in the fact that many years ago a gentlemen had a small-sized well dug from the top down into the heart of the mound, and among other things found the jaw-bone of a man that would easily slip over the head of an ordinary man of this generation. His explorations were very meagre, and since then nothing like any systematic search has ever been made. Leading off from the mound in the direction of the creek are ditches, at the present time several feet deep. They were evidently used by the mound-builders as secret ways of egress in case of attack.

A new historical society having been organized in Frederick county, Maryland, one of the local newspapers discourses in the following manner: "It is a well-known fact that few other sections of the county are richer in historical associations than is Frederick county. It was there, for instance, that the odius stamp act was first denounced; it was there that Benjamin Franklin first met General Washington; it was in Frederick that General Sharpe, General Braddock, and Colonel Washington met in the eventful spring of 1755, and it was there that many incidents occured which aided largely in shaping the history of the country in those and other perilous times."

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EVOLUTION OF THE BICYCLE.

THE TAYLOR CYCLE COMPANY.

A PECULIARITY of the bicycle business of the country, considering its enormous proportions, is the fact that it is conducted almost entirely by comparatively young men. Almost without exception the heads of the great manufacturing establishments, and the principal dealers of the larger as well as the smaller cities are men who have not yet reached middle age, and some of those most widely known to the bicycle world at the present time began their business careers with the development of this industry only a few years since.

A notable instance of the building up of a vast business of this character with remarkable rapidity is that of the Taylor Cycle Company of Chicago, of which Arthur A. Taylor and A. L. Collins are executive officers and managers. Both of these gentlemen are young men who served apprenticeship as salesmen and in various branches of the bicycle business, before they began business on their own account, and both had been well known to the trade for several years prior to that time. They became associated together when Mr. Taylor assumed the management of the Chicago branch of the George R. Bidwell Cycle Company with Mr. Collins as his assistant.

In 1892 they bought out the business of which they had charge in Chicago and organized the Taylor Cycle Company, with Mr. Taylor as president and Mr. Collins as secretary of the corporation. Bending all their energies to the work of building up and extending the business which they had established, a thorough familiarity with the requirements of the trade, and a wide acquaintance with the bicycle manufacturers and dealers of the country, has enabled them in two years to take rank among the leading dealers of the United States. Comparatively few western houses carry as large a line of goods as the Taylor Cycle Company, and none has established a reputation for selecting goods with greater care or a more intelligent consideration of the needs of all classes of customers. Having obtained control of a large proportion of the output of some of the most famous American cycle factories they have supplemented the stock thus obtained by large importations of a justly celebrated machine of English manufacture, and also by having a popular price bicycle built exclusively for their trade from specifications which they themselves furnished. While so shaping their stock of goods as to adapt itself to various classes of trade, they have drawn the line on handling the product of irresponsible manufacturers, and purchasers always understand that a machine bought of the Taylor Cycle Company carries with it the guarantee of a reliable manufacturer. Liberality and fairness in their business methods have served to popularize the company and to render them phenomenally successful in extending their trade throughout the western and southern States.

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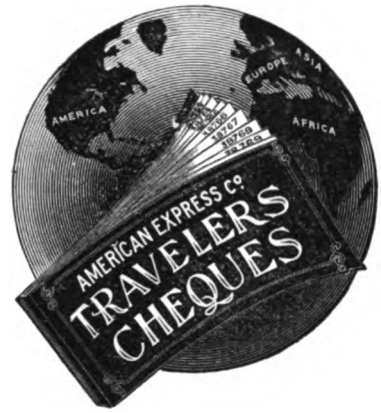

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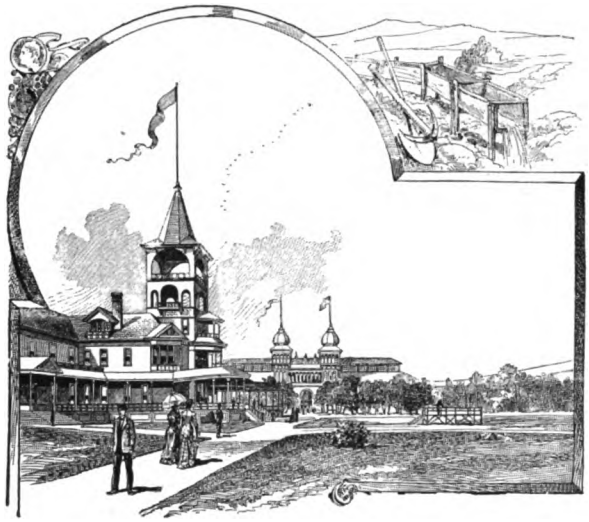

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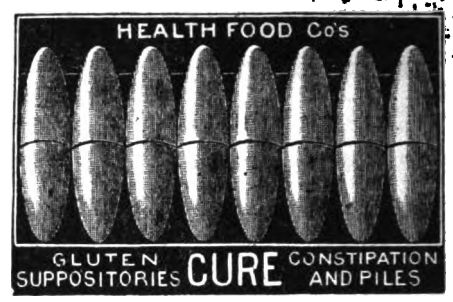

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AN EPOCH IN AMERICAN JOURNALISM.

THE DE LANCEY ARMS.

THE administration of William Cosby, who was the Colonial Governor of New York in 1732-36[2] was distinguished by an attack upon the freedom of the press which was the most notable event of that period. It also marked an epoch in the history of journalism in America, which is of the greatest interest and significance.

The leader of the court or conservative party at this time was James De Lancey. His father, Stephen De Lancey, a Huguenot exile, had accumulated a large fortune in the African trade, and by his marriage with the daughter of Van Cortlandt had become connected with the wealthiest families in the colony. He had given to his son unusual educational advantages, sent him to England to study at Cambridge, and in the age of Pope, Swift, and Gay made him familiar with English literature and manners. At the university James De Lancey had for his tutor Dr. Thomas Herring, who was afterward Archbishop of York and Canterbury, and with whom he always preserved a close friendship. The archbishop, it is said, aided De Lancey, in his various political difficulties, by his influence with the king, and was always his firm friend. In 1725 De Lancey returned to New York, and was soon after admitted to practice law. No one was better fitted to attain the highest rank in his profession. His mind was clear and strong; his opportunities for mental cultivation had surpassed those of his fellows; he was industrious, ambitious, and his family influence insured him success. He was made a member of the council in 1728, and was married to the daughter of Caleb Heathcote, one of the wealthiest men in the province, a member of the council and the receiver of customs for all North America. Business flowed in upon De Lancey; he grew wealthy by his own labors and by the large fortune of his wife; his health was perhaps not strong, but he was by far the most prominent and

[1] From the "Memorial History of New York"

[2] See April issue of National Magazine for history of his administration as well as that of Gov. Clarke.

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fortunate young man in the province when he was yet under thirty. Unhappily, his natural conservatism, or the influence of the reactionary circle in which he moved, clouded and embarrassed his intellect. He might have saved New York from many trials and even calamities, had he joined the party of reform, and he might have led the way to much real progress. But he seems to have fallen at once into the hands of the court party and the reactionists, He became their leader and their victim. He lent his powerful aid to Cosby in some of his most iniquitous measures. He covered up his peculations, defended his tyranny. He was a bitter persecutor of the opposite faction, and his influence in this disastrous period was fatal to the best interests of his native city. With De Lancey were joined Harrison, Clarke, and the majority of the council. Francis Harrison was a lawyer of note, but apparently so active on the governor's side as to become the object of the sharpest satires of the opposition. Many of the wealthier families, the Philipses, Van Cortlandts, and others, followed De Lancey, but added little to the mental strength of his party. Except the great leader himself, nearly all the rising intellects of the day were on the side of the opposition: Morris, Alexander, Smith, Colden, the Livingstons, all the Presbyterians, and the greater part of the Dutch, some of the more prudent Episcopalians, and the great majority of the voters, formed the popular party. But they found themselves powerless, and had no means even of complaining. Bradford's "Gazette" was closed to them, the legislature was not permitted to meet. No elections were held. The courts were controlled by the governor. The reformers probably knew that Cosby was writing home to England the most infamous calumnies against them; Morris, Alexander and Van Dam felt that he was plotting to drive them from their offices; that he had resolved to crush out the few remaining traces of freedom; that they were slaves. They appealed to the power of the press—their only refuge. They determined to establish in New York a weekly journal that should demand freedom of thought and speech as the birthright of every free people. It was a most important epoch in the history of journalism and of America when Morris and his associates first determined to test the power of the press and assert its liberty. In England the liberty of the press was scarcely understood. De Foe was pilloried for a satirical pamphlet; Swift was in danger of imprisonment for the Drapier's Letters, having himself inflicted on the opposition writers the punishment he now feared. Steele suffered for his pamphlets. In Philadelphia Bradford had been prosecuted and exiled; Franklin fled from Boston because he had written too freely. The patriots of New York were the first to demand freedom of thought and speech. "No nation, ancient or modern," writes "Cato," in Zenger's new journal,[1] "no nation ever lost the liberty of freely speaking, writing or publishing, but forthwith lost their liberty and became slaves."

John Peter Zenger, the editor of the "New York Weekly Journal,"—

[1] "Munday," November 12, 1733.

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THE
New-York Weekly JOURNAL

Containing the freshest Advices, Foreign, and Domestick.

MUNDAY November 12, 1733.

Mr. *Zenger*.

INcert the following in your next, and you'll oblige your Friend,

CATO.

Mira temporum felicitas, ubi sentiri quæ velis, & quæ sentias dicere licit.

Tacit.

THE Liberty of the Press is a Subject of the greatest Importance, and in which every Individual is as much concern'd as he is in any other Part of Liberty: Therefore it will not be improper to communicate to the Publick the Sentiments of a late excellent Writer upon this Point. such is the Elegance and Perspicuity of his Writings, such the inimitable Force of his Reasoning, that it will be difficult to say any Thing new that he has not said, or not to say that much worse which he has said.

There are two Sorts of Monarchies, an absolute and a limited one. In the first, the Liberty of the Press can never be maintained, it is inconsistent with it; for what absolute Monarch would suffer any Subject to animadvert on his Actions, when it is in his Power to declare the Crime, and to nominate the Punishment? This would make it very dangerous to exercise such a Liberty Besides the Object against which those Pens must be directed, is their Sovereign, the sole supreme Magistrate; for there being no Law in those Monarchies, but the Will of the Prince, it makes it necessary for his Ministers to consult his Pleasure, before any Thing can be undertaken: He is therefore properly chargeable with the Grievances of his Subjects, and what the Minister there acts being in Obedience to the Prince, he ought not to incur the Hatred of the People; for it would be hard to impute that to him for a Crime, which is the Fruit of his Allegiance, and for refusing which he might incur the Penalties of Treason. Besides, in an absolute Monarchy, the Will of the Prince being the Law, a Liberty of the Press to complain of Grievances would be complaining against the Law, and the Constitution, to which they have submitted, or have been obliged to submit; and therefore in one Sense, may be said to deserve Punishment, So that under an absolute Monarchy, I say, such a Liberty is inconsistent with the Constitution, having no proper Subject in Politics, on which it might be exercis'd, and if exercis'd would incur a certain Penalty.

But in a limited Monarchy, as *England* is, our Laws are known, fixed and established. They are the streigh Rule and sure Guide to direct the King, the Ministers, and other his Subjects: And therefore an Offence against the Laws is such an Offence against the Constitution as ought to receive a proper adequate Punishment; the leveral

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The above fac-simile is reduced from the original issue of Zenger's paper, measuring 7½ by 12 inches, in the possession of the New-York Historical Society. A more complete file of the first volume of the "Journal" is included in the collections of the American Antiquarian Society.

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the beginning of its free press,—was a German who had been sent to New York when young, by the charity of Queen Anne. He had learned the art of printing in Bradford's employ. He was made collector of taxes, and was in arrears, his enemies said not honestly. In November, 1733 he began to publish his "Weekly Journal." It was a small folio sheet, resembling Bradford's "Gazette," but even less careful in proof-reading and printing. He spells Monday "Munday," his dates are constantly incorrect, the paper poor, the type intolerable. Yet Zenger was bold and fearless; he evidently enjoyed his sudden elevation to renown; his paper was successful; he gathered news, and had as many advertisements as the "Gazette." But the chief purpose of the paper lay in its bitter attacks upon Cosby's administration. No point of assault is neglected, no personality or satire spared. Morris, Alexander, Smith and others had formed a club that met weekly, and here were no doubt arranged and suggested the essays, the squibs, the verses, parodies, and sharp rejoinders to the heavy and often ill-considered replies that were sometimes inserted in the "Gazette." It is not likely that Bradford, its editor, was in sympathy with Cosby's party; he claims to be neutral, but his paper was controlled by Harrison and De Lancey, and was treated with little tenderness by his acute assailants. Many of the leading essays in the "Journal" are written in a clear, correct style, full of force and novelty. Their chief aim is to defend the most liberal view of the liberty of the press. The writers felt no doubt that they lived under a despotism that might at any moment strike them with its sharp penalties; they use all the resources of reason to rouse the people to resistance. Their argument is unanswerable because true. But its unrivaled power lay in its novelty. Few, in 1730, had even heard of the liberty of the press; fewer understood its meaning. It was many years before Junius was to complete his reputation by his powerful enunciation of the same truth. It was so long since Milton had written his great period on Truth's certain victory that it was forgotten. In the days of Swift and Addison few read Milton's prose. But week after week, in grave and stately sentences the New York writers kept up one long, loud cry, "The Liberty of the Press." The effect was startling. It spread from colony to colony; a newspaper was soon established in Charleston that took up the cry; Boston and Philadelphia watched attentively the struggle in New York, and we may trace in the leading articles of the "New York Weekly Journal" of 1733 and 1734 many of the ideas and sometimes the language itself that Otis, Franklin and Adams made use of in defending and securing the liberties of the continent.

It would be possible to collect many witty sayings and more wise ones from this sudden display of colonial talent. The wit is often harsh, the personalities cruel. Harrison is represented as a monkey who escapes into the country and arms himself with sword and pistol; next he is a spaniel who runs away from home. Cosby is never spared. An amusing satire of the alphabet shows that some letters are fortunate, some unlucky,

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but that C is the letter ever fatal to New York. Cornbury sold offices and took bribes, Coote (Bellomont) and Carteret were unfortunate,—a blank is left for Cosby. When the governor's supporters urged that a certain respect was due to his position, "Cato" replied in the "Journal": "If all governours are to be reverenced, why not the Turk and old Muley or Nero?" and, "if we reverence men for power alone, why not the D——?" Some retainer of the court said it was best to keep well with a governor. The "Journal" replies; "A governour turns rogue, does a thousand things for which a small rogue would deserve a halter, . . . therefore it is prudent to keep in with him." For those who yielded to the seductions of court dinners and gave up their independence, the "Weekly Journal" has no mercy. The widows are made to complain that they are left out of the governor's invitations because they have no husbands to control; young women because they have no lovers on the jury. The court entertainments are a favorite aim of satire; they are wasteful, they corrupt and destroy. A correspondent complains of the swift growth of luxury; men now contend, he says, who shall wear the finest clothes, drink the costliest wines, have the most dishes on the table, and not, as of old, who shall be of most service to his country.

THE VAN CORTLANDT MANSION AT KINGSBRIDGE.

Literature had made little progress in the rising city. There were no good schools; only one newspaper, Bradford's "New York Gazette," appeared weekly, and a few books had already issued from his press. The "Gazette," a small folio sheet, was made up chiefly of extracts from foreign papers and some advertisements of property, runaway slaves, and shipping. As yet no political discussion was allowed, and few probably read the unattractive paper. It is probable that the majority of the citizens of New York could neither read nor write. The women, the historian Smith ungallantly asserts, read little or nothing. The English

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language was slowly taking the place of the Dutch; in the Dutch churches the congregations were growing smaller, while that of Trinity soon exceeded the capacity of the building. In portions of the colony a mixed language was spoken, made up of Dutch and English, no common-school system having as yet fixed the words of the nation and made way for the pure speech of Shakspeare and Milton to rule over the countless generations of the future; the common schools have given us a common tongue.

Yet New York was soon to share in the literary and scientific revival that was spreading over the other colonies. There is no doubt that the political discussions that grew out of the Zenger controversy aided greatly in awakening its intellect. It could not, in fact, linger long behind its fellows. In 1730–36, Franklin, a poor mechanic, was founding in Philadelphia literary clubs, libraries, and a newspaper of real excellence; and around him grew up men of science like Bartram, Rittenhouse, Rush, and several writers of merit. Berkeley (1729–1732) in Rhode Island had built his colonial house near Newport, founded clubs and literary circles, and written in his study or his garden the most tolerant of theological discussions, "Alciphron; or, the Minute Philosopher." Berkeley is polite even to an atheist. From his school of thought came Samuel Johnson of Yale, afterward president of King's (now Columbia) College, and Jonathan Edwards, the philosopher; Berkeley endowed Yale College with his Newport farm, and gathered for it large contributions in England. With Berkeley began an American school of painting. He had brought over with him, Smybert, an artist, who afterward settled in Boston, took the portraits of many eminent men, and founded a school in which Trumbull, Allston, Stuart, and Sully surpassed their master. Berkeley's pure literary style, too, was imitated by later American writers; he was one of the founders of American literature.

As yet in New York, literary men were few. The Dutch clergymen were always good Latin scholars, and several of them wrote verses, but their language was unknown to the people. The Rev. William Vesey, the rector of Trinity, had been educated at Harvard as a Congregational minister; he was fond of controversy and wasted his leisure in disputes. The French clergyman, the Rev. Louis Rou, a scholar, had been the friend of Governor Burnet, but seems to have wanted discretion and charity.

It was not until Zenger and his associates began to write in the "Weekly Journal" that the intellect of New York showed any animation or literary skill. With it began the practice of ready writing, and it is impossible to go through its series of essays, replies, arguments, sallies of wit, and bitter satires without feeling that a very remarkable degree of literary talent had been reached by its supporters. Their discussions of the principles of free thought and speech, of the necessity of maintaining them, of the danger of a sluggish yielding to despotism, of the certainty of the final triumph of truth in the conflict with error, show that they had studied in the school of Milton

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and were familiar with the best classic and English authors. There was a library in the City Hall, founded by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. A library in these early days wanted nearly all the familiar names of even half a century later. Johnson was still a dull, heavy young man, translating "Father Lobo's Travels" or indolently dreaming at Lichfield. Pope was in the full maturity of his satirical vein, emulating Horace aud Juvenal. Hume and the Scottish-school of history and philosophy were yet unheard of. In Ireland, Swift was stirring up a fierce internecine feud that was never to cease; Berkeley was the philosopher, Akenside and Thompson were the new poets of the age, Bolingbroke the political teacher and reformer. And when Smith and Alexander were writing their acute discussions of liberty and free speech, they could have had few materials of research and few models of style and thought. Shakspeare was perhaps on the shelves of the library in the City Hall, Dryden and some of the gross comic writers of the age of Charles, possibly an imperfect edition of Milton. But the list of English authors was still so brief that one wonders how Montgomerie could well have made up his collection of fourteen hundred volumes. The City Library was chiefly theological and polemical. Some popular works no doubt had crept into its shelves. There may have been some huge folio editions of the classics. Smith and Alexander constantly appeal to the example of the Roman republicans, a Cato or a Brutus, or to the empire and its decay. They had read Livy and Tacitus at least in translations. But the chief value of the City Library of 1730 consisted in its being the first, and in that it gave rise to larger collections of books. It was itself enlarged and transformed by the liberality of private citizens into that admirable institution, the Society Library of New York. On its shelves may be found some of the early volumes from which Colden, Smith and

Alexander may have gathered their wit and wisdom.

One of the founders of American literature and science was Cadwallader Colden. He had come from Scotland already known for his talents and learning, and was made a member of the council by Governor Burnet. He belonged to the liberal party of which Smith and Alexander were the active leaders, but seems to have given his attention chiefly to letters and science. He was the first to study the habits and manners of

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the native Indian races with care, and wrote an excellent account of them. At his seat at Coldenham, near Newburgh-on-the-Hudson, he practised agriculture and entertained men of science and learning. He corresponded with Bartram, was a member of Franklin's philosophical society, and was well known in Europe and America. New York owes much to its Scottish governor and citizens, Burnet, Alexander, the Livingstons, Colden and others, and has never ceased to show traces of their influence. But Colden could not, as the friend of the reformers, escape the intense dislike of Governor Cosby. He writes to England that Colden is "unfit to be trusted," he is a "spy"; "these infamous fellows," he calls his opponents, and never ceases to urge their removal from the council. He would have Thomas Freeman, Esq., who had married his daughter, appointed to one of the vacant seats. Colden's mind was incessantly active. He wrote a treatise on the plants of Coldenham, which Linnæus used, naming a genus, after him, *Coldenia*. Colden, too, wrote excellent medical treatises, on gravitation, mathematical papers, on the "climate and diseases of New York," and many other pieces. He kept up an extensive correspondence with the learned, was lieutenant-governor of New York, one of the ruling intellects of the time. He died at eighty-eight in 1776; unfortunately, he lingered too long in the royal party, and was forgotten.

On the feast of St. Michael the archangel, the freeholders of New York were directed by their charter to assemble in their wards and proceed to the election of aldermen and assistants for the coming year. Not many modern voters in these less fanciful days would know when the medieval saint's festival occurred, or could understand why he was chosen to preside over a New York election; but in 1734 the fierce spirits of our ancestors seemed to require the flaming sword of an archangel to hold them in check. The bitter enmities of the Leislerian tragedy had not yet died out, and were probably destined never to die. The court party were still the oppressors of the people. On September 29 the two factions met at the polls; the contest had been long and violent; the result was the complete overthrow of the governor's party and the election of a common council in which he had but a single adherent, a Mr. Moore. The opposition celebrated their victory with new essays, songs, and satires. The governor denied, in a message to the assembly, which was now sitting, that he had any interest in the election. He even claimed a victory. The election in the city of a hostile board of aldermen and assistants roused the court party to fatal energy. They seem to have adopted the worst practices of Charles I. and Laud, all the insane violence of James II. In the little town, torn by wild excitement, Cosby hoped to crush his opponents by aid of his obedient judges. De Lancey charged the grand jury, in angry terms, that Zenger's paper was inculcating treason and dissension, and he pressed the indictment of the editor. The grand jury boldly refused to obey; they paid no attention to the recommendation of the chief justice, doubting both his discretion and his law. Next Cosby appealed to

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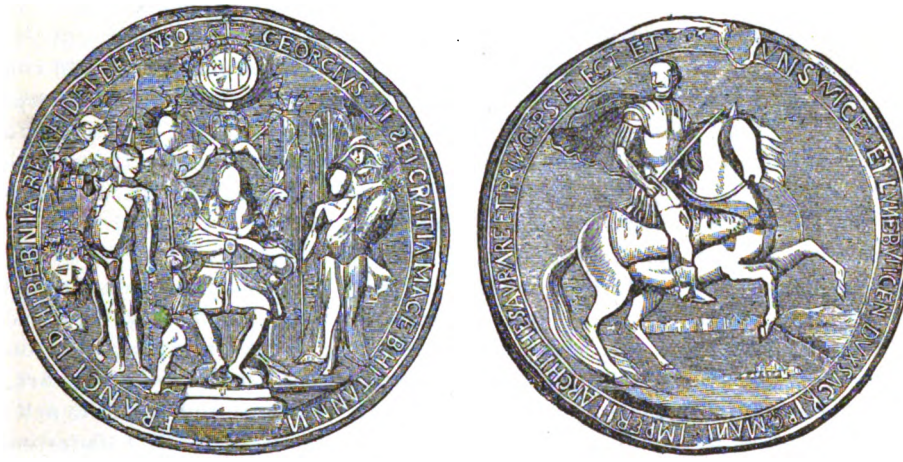
the assembly, which was then in session, for aid against his tormentors. His obedient majority in the council sent a message to the house, complaining of Zenger's and other "scurrilous papers;" they requested the appointment of a committee to consider with them what should be done with the offenders. They met October 17, 1734; the complaint was laid before the house on the 22d; but the assembly, ruled no doubt by the counsels of Morris and his followers, would have nothing to do with the affair. They were plainly unwilling to silence free discussion. The new cry, "The Liberty of the Press," rang in the ears of all Americans. The legislature wisely laid the complaint on the table.

It would have been well for Cosby could he have paused here and yielded to the plain wishes of his people. But, like James II., he consulted only his own angry passions and resolved upon revenge. He evidently hoped to involve Morris, Alexander, and all his opponents in a common ruin. Two "scurrilous ballads" on the recent election of opposition aldermen in the city had produced a new excitement. They are not extant, but they must have been both pointed and bitter to have awakened so fierce a resentment in the ruling faction. The chief justice, De Lancey, presented them to the grand jury in terms that show his strong feeling. "Gentlemen," he said, "you must have heard of two scandalous songs that are handed about; it is your duty to enquire [*sic*] the author, printer, and publisher of them. Sometimes heavy half-witted men get a knack of rhyming, but it is time to break them of it when they grow abusive, insolent, and mischievous." De Lancey was plainly no lenient critic of the poetical labors of his foes. The grand jury presented the "two scandalous songs:" one on the recent "election of Magistrates in this city," the other "a song on the foregoing occasion." They were ordered



GREAT SEAL OF GEORGE II. (NO PERFECT IMPRESSION IS KNOWN TO EXIST.)

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to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, and the governor offered a reward for the discovery of the author or authors. He was resolved to break his opponents of their "habit of rhyming." Careless or unconscious of the disgust of the people, of the reproaches of posterity, the obedient council next ordered the papers Nos. 7, 47, 48 and 49 of Zenger's journal to be burned "near the pillory by the hands of the common hangman." They declared them libelous and seditious. They were resolved to spare their opponents no humiliation, and directed the magistrates and newly elected aldermen of the city to be present at the burning. The aldermen flatly refused to obey. They denied the right of the governor and council to control their conduct or that of any city official.[1] In vain the recorder, Harrison, pressed them with arguments drawn from the burning of Bishop Burnet's book or the precedents of the reigns of Charles and James; the brave aldermen were not be intimidated. Even the hangman of the city refused to serve the ruling faction. No one could be found to burn the papers. The sheriff then ordered one of his negroes to perform the unwelcome duty. It took place at the "pillory" on the east side of what is now the City Hall Park. Recorder Harrison, with one or two of his party and some soldiers from the garrison, were the only persons present. The citizens by their absence showed their contempt for the folly of their rulers.

The next step was the arrest and imprisonment of Zenger. The attorney-general filed an information against him for libel, and the council ordered him to be seized and carried to prison. The unlucky printer has left an account of his own harsh treatment that shows the bitter spirit of his opponents. He was seized "on the Lord's day," hurried away to the common jail, deprived of pen, ink and paper, was permitted to see no one, and was at last allowed to speak to his wife and friends only through "a hole in the door." For one week the "New York Journal" was silenced, but the next it appeared with an apology from Zenger to his patrons, and an assurance that he would continue to print his paper even through the "hole in the door." In his narrative of his trial, printed afterward in Boston, he relates the hardships to which he had been exposed for advocating the cause of a free press. Its accuracy has never been doubted; it was probably written by Smith or Alexander.[2] "As there was but one printer in the province of New York," he says, "that printed a public newspaper, I was in hopes if I undertook to publish another, I might make it worth my while, and I soon found that my hopes were not groundless. My first paper was printed November V. 1733, and I continued printing and publishing of them, I thought to the satisfaction of everybody, till the January following when the chief justice (De Lancey) was pleased to animadvert upon the doctrine of libels. In a long charge given in that term to the Grand Jury and afterwards on the

[1] "Zenger's Trial," pp. 1-6, has an account of the scene.

[2] See "A brief narrative of the Case and Trial of John Peter Zenger of the 'New York Weekly Journal,' for libel;" reprinted by John Holt, at the Exchange, 1770. The original pamphlet is not in existence.

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third Tuesday of October, 1734, was again pleased to charge the Grand Jury in the following words—." He then gives De Lancey's charge, and adds "but the Jury did not indict me." Then came the refusal of the assembly to notice the request of the council; the burning of the papers, November 2, 1734; the refusal of the aldermen to attend; the order of the council, sitting at Fort George, for his arrest; his imprisonment on Sunday. "I was for several days deprived," he says, "of the use of pen, ink and paper and the liberty of speaking with any person."

It is not difficult to conceive the excitement and interest in the little town at the news of Zenger's arrest. It was a threat to the majority of the people, an arbitrary act that placed them all at the mercy of their rulers. "Some friends," he says, brought him before the court to obtain bail. De Lancey, a hostile judge, fixed it at so large a sum that he could not ask any one to become his surety; the sum required was "ten times as much as it was in my power to counter-secure." At the hearing before De Lancey the court-room was filled with hundreds of citizens, looking with no friendly eyes upon the partial judge: the court party was in a small minority in the city. New York had expressed its wishes at the recent election, and the people must have looked with real alarm upon the actions of their opponents. The Presbyterians still felt their wrongs; it was even rumored that Cosby intended to seize on one of the Dutch churches for the ruling sect; religious fears and violence added to the excitement of the hour. Zenger was taken back to the prison, where he remained until Tuesday, January 28, 1734–5, when, as the grand jury had refused to indict him, he should have been discharged. "But my hopes were vain," he says, for the attorney-general brought a new charge against him for printing in his papers Nos. 13 and 23, matter "false, scandalous and seditious." Again he was brought up before the hostile court. But his counsel, Smith and Alexander, acute and bold, now assumed a position

SHILLING PIECE.

that involved all the past acts of Governor Cosby. They objected to the validity of the appointment of De Lancey and Philipse as judges. They had been appointed "during pleasure"; it should have been during "good behaviour." Morris, they urged, had been improperly removed from office—the governor could not displace an official without consulting his council. By both statutory and common law his acts were void. On Tuesday, April 15, Mr. Alexander offered to argue these points before his excellency the chief justice. It is easy to fancy the rage of the presiding judge at this appeal from his authority. He warned the two lawyers, Smith and Alexander, that they should consider well the consequences of their boldness. The next day, at

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the meeting of the court, he ordered them to be expelled from the New York bar, and refused to allow them to say anything in their defense. He said: "You thought to have gained a great deal of applause and popularity by opposing this court, as you did the Court of Exchequer, but you have brought it to the point that either we must go from the bench or you from the bar."

A. Hamilton

No lawyer of eminent talent seemed left to defend Zenger and the freedom of the press. The day of trial came, the most important in the annals of the city. De Lancey and Philipse sat upon the bench: the court room was crowded by all the leading citizens of New York. The court party were certain of an easy triumph; there was apparently no one able to meet them in argument and defend the prisoner There was at this time an eminent lawyer in Philadelphia, Andrew Hamilton. He was of English birth, had practiced law with success in London, but had emigrated to Philadelphia, where he rose high in reputation and wealth. He was now old in bad health, but his mind was never more vigorous, nor more eager for an honorable fame. The friends of Zenger sent to him to come to their aid and defend the freedom of New York. Hamilton consented with a chivalrous zeal and pure devotion that mark only the highest order of intellect in his profession. It was the 4th of August, 1735, when, in the crowded court room on a hot day of a New York summer, the prisoner was brought to the bar. He was to have a struck jury selected from a number of freeholders. The clerk of the court attempted some irregular proceeding, and De Lancey was forced by the prisoner's attorney, John Chambers, to correct him. Bradley, the attorney-general, opened the charge against Zenger. He accused him of publishing certain passages in his paper that were "false, scandalous and seditious." They suggested in an ironical way that in New York the liberty and property of the people were in danger; that they were sinking into slavery, that judges had been removed without cause, deeds destroyed that were of great value new courts erected, the trial by jury set aside. It was a bitter satirical review of Cosby's administration, told by a citizen of New York who was about to emigrate to Pennsylvania. Juvenal's satire was possibly in the mind of its composer. Bradley showed

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all the evils that would flow from language like this and the contempt that must fall on the government.

Hamilton had come to the court apparently unknown to his opponents. He now rose and said: "May it please your honor, I am concerned in this cause on the part of Mr. Zenger, the defendant." The surprise of the crowded audience may well be imagined when the famous lawyer rose to address the court. "I'll save Mr. Attorney," he added, "the trouble of examining witnesses;" he admitted the publication. Bradley then called for conviction. "Not so neither, Mr. Attorney," said Hamilton, "you have something more to do; the words must be proved libellous." And then

began a remarkable intellectual contest between the young and overbearing chief justice and his hostile court, and the grave, keen, cultivated counsel for the defendant. De Lancey insisted that the law was that the truth of a libel made no difference—it was a libel still. Hamilton urged that the decisions of the Star Chamber were not binding; that men had a right to complain of an unjust government and oppressive laws. De Lancey repeated his decision and said: "Mr. Hamilton, we expect you to use good manners." Hamilton said he wished only to be heard in defense of his position; the chief justice refused to listen to him. "I thank your honor," Hamilton said, and then turning to the jury continued: "Gentlemen of the jury, to you we must now appeal for witnesses of the facts we have offered and are denied the liberty to prove: you are to be the judges of the law and the facts." It would be impossible here to give any distinct idea of this wonderful speech. Its chief trait that raises it above all others is its prophetic novelty. In the midst of the dim, unfixed notions of the age of monarchy and tyranny, it brings into a clear light all the principles of free speech and free thought that rule among us to-day. "Shall not the oppressed have even the right to complain: shall the press be silenced that evil governors may have their way?" On this theme for hours the best people of New York listened with deep interest to the rare and inspiring eloquence of the aged orator. He painted the danger of unlicensed power, and likened it to a raging stream that breaks its banks. He turned aside with easy irony the interruptions of the chief justice and the attorney-general. He felt that he had the sympathy of the jury and the people.

He closed his speech with a touching peroration. "I am truly unequal," he said, "to such an undertaking [the defense of freedom] on many accounts, and you see I labor under the weight of many years and am borne down with great infirmities of body; yet old and weak as I am, I should think it my duty, if required, to go to the utmost part of the land, where my services could be of use in assisting to quench the flame of prosecutions set on foot by the government to deprive a people of the right of remonstrating and (complaining too) of the arbitrary attempts of the men in power. But to

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conclude: the question before the court and you, gentlemen of the jury, is not of small nor private concern; it is not the cause of a poor printer, nor of New York alone, which you are now trying. No! It may in its consequences affect every freeman that lives under a British government on the main of America. It is the best cause, it is the cause of liberty! and I make no doubt but your upright conduct to-day will not only entitle you to the love and esteem of your fellow-citizens, but every one who prefers freedom to slavery will bless and honor you as men who have

POPPLE'S PLAN OF NEW YORK AND ITS ENVIRONS, 1733.

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baffled the attempts of tyranny and by an impartial and uncorrupt verdict have laid a noble foundation for securing to ourselves, our posterity, and our neighbors that to which nature and the laws of our country have given us a right—the liberty both of exposing and opposing arbitrary power (in these parts of the world at least) by speaking and writing the truth."

The last words of the venerable orator must have thrilled the New York audience who had so long listened in silence. They were prophetic; in America at least there should be freedom of speech and thought. But to the court party the words of the orator had no meaning. Bradley, the attorney-general, rose and demanded the conviction of Zenger; the chief justice charged the jury that they must convict him. The jury boldly refused: they declared the defendent "Not Guilty." The scene that followed is one that has never been repeated nor paralleled in a New York court room. The instant the verdict was rendered the audience broke into loud cheers of triumph that must have resounded in Wall and Broad streets almost to the governor's mansion in the fort. Rage, amazement, terror, we are told, appeared on the bench. One of the judges threatened with imprisonment the leader of the applause. But Captain Norris, the son-in-law of Morris, rose and said that applause was common in Westminster Hall, and was loudest in the acquittal of the seven bishops. The allusion was at once felt in the excited audience. Before the judge could reply the shouts broke out again and the court room rang with huzzas for the champion of liberty. Hamilton was carried almost on the shoulders of the crowd to a fine entertainment that had been prepared for him. The next day when he set out for Philadelphia, the whole city came to the waterside to do him honor. He entered the barge under a salute of cannon. The corporation presented him with the freedom of the city in a gold box, with inscriptions that declared his virtues and his great services; never lawyer deserved so well the applause of his countrymen.

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THE NEGRO PLOT IN NEW YORK IN 1741.

IN the spring of 1741, the city of New York was swept by one of those wild panics that have always attended upon slavery. It was believed that the negroes had formed a plot to seize or destroy the town: the masters looked with suspicion and hatred on those they had wronged, the slaves perhaps were ready to seek liberty and revenge. Slavery has nowhere presented itself in a more odious form than in early New-York. The slaves for small provocation were whipped and tortured. Often wild savages from Africa, taken from the slave-market in Wall street, barbarous, brutal, they were constant objects of suspicion and fear. It is supposed that they formed at this time about one sixth of a population of twelve thousand, and were plainly incapable of making any effectual resistance to the white owners and the garrison in the fort. But the rumor of a plot, to be aided by the intrigues of the Spaniards, now drove the most reputable citizens into deeds of unexampled cruelty. It forms the darkest blot upon the history of New-York. On February 28, a robbery was committed that was traced to the house of Hughson, a place where the slaves had been accustomed to meet, drink, gamble and secrete their stolen goods. Hughson was a man of infamous character; his indentured servant, Mary Burton, became the chief witness against her master and the other victims. On March 18, after the robbery, a fire broke out in the fort and destroyed the governor's house, the chapel, and several other buildings. At first it was thought to have been accidental.[1] But when, soon after, a succession of fires occurred in various parts of the town, a universal panic spread over it; there seemed little doubt that they had been the result of some secret plot. At once it was rumored that the negroes had conspired to burn the city. At this moment several of them were heard using threatening language; they were arrested, but denied any knowledge of the plot. But now Mary Burton, who was in prison as a witness in the affair of the robbery, declared that she knew the origin of the fires. Reluctantly, it is said, she gave testimony against her master and others; she said the negroes had held meetings at Hughson's, had resolved to destroy all the whites; that one Cæsar, a black, was to be governor, and Hughson king. Such was her improbable story; but upon her evidence many negroes was arrested and imprisoned. One Arthur Price, a servant, charged with stealing, next added his testimony;[2] and as he was in prison with the negroes, was employed by the magistrates to act as a spy upon them. He soon told extravagant tales of what they had dis-

[1] Clarke to lords of trade, April, 1741. Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 6: 184.

[2] Col. Hist. N. Y., 6: 197): "The fatal fire . . . . is now known to be the result of conspiracy."

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closed to him. Peggy Salinburgh, a woman of bad character, was the next informer; new arrests were made among the negroes; the magistrates were incessantly engaged in the discovery of new victims; the grand jury, composed of the most respectable citizens, lent its aid to the general infatuation, and the whole town was agitated by suspicion and terror. A reward of one hundred pounds was offered for the discovery of the persons engaged in the plot to set fire to the city; the three informers, Burton, Price, and Peggy, were never idle, and their extravagant tales grew with the public terror and excited fresh alarm. They were evidently wholly unworthy of belief. Mary Burton had first testified that no white persons were present at the meetings except her master, mistress, and Peggy; she now charged one John Ury, a nonjuring Episcopal clergyman, supporting himself by teaching, with being a Jesuit, and with having been concerned in the plot; next she charged that Curry, a dancing-master, was also at the meetings at Hughson's. Ury, once supposed to be a Catholic, was an object of suspicion. He was indicted, tried, and executed, and at the place of execution solemnly denied the charge, and called upon God to witness its falseness. Mary Burton received the reward of a hundred pounds, but her testimony was at last doubted; the dancing-master, Curry, was discharged for want of proof; it was seen that every white person in the town was in danger from the false witnesses. In this strange panic and reign of savage cruelty one hundred and fifty-four negroes were imprisoned, of whom thirteen were burnt at the stake, eighteen hanged, seventy-one transported, and the rest pardoned or discharged.[1] Twenty-one white persons were arrested, of whom Hughson, his wife and maid, and Ury, were hanged. It is the darkest page of our early history, yet it was a natural consequence of slavery. The Spartans massacred their helots; the Romans chained their slaves at night; the people of New-York feared and hated the savages they had enslaved and tortured. Reformers and patriots, the wise and the gifted, seem to have yielded to the dreadful delusion. Daniel Horsmanden, one of the judges, wrote an account of the plot, in which he firmly believed. The poor negroes were brought before the court to be tried without defenders, friendless, the victims of a public insanity. Against them were arrayed the best counsel of the city, the finest intellects of the time. A day of thanksgiving was appointed by the lieutenant-governor for the wonderful deliverance, and was devoutly observed.[2]

The assembly had met in September, 1740, and were in session during the supposed conspiracy. One saddening spectacle to modern eyes nearly concluded the session. The grand jury who had indicted the miserable victims of the fancied plot were called in and thanked by the speaker for their vigilance and attention in bringing the offenders to justice. No sentiment of humanity

[1] Smith, Hist. New-York (ed. 1814), pp. 438, 439; Clarke to lords of trade, August 24, 1741, Doc. rel. Col.

[2] Some excuse for the panic may be found; none for the barbarous cruelty.

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A

JOURNAL

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

IN

The Detection of the Conspiracy

FORMED BY

Some *White* People in Conjunction with *Negro* and other *Slaves*,

FOR

Burning the City of *NEW-YORK* in AMERICA,
And Murdering the Inhabitants.

Which Conspiracy was partly put in Execution, by Burning His Majesty's House in Fort GEORGE, within the said City, on Wednesday the Eighteenth of *March*, 1741 and setting Fire to several Dwelling and other Houses there, within a few Days succeeding. And by another Attempt made in Prosecution of the same infernal Scheme, by putting Fire between two other Dwelling-Houses within the said City, on the Fifteenth Day of *February*, 1742; which was accidentally and timely discovered and extinguished.

CONTAINING,

A NARRATIVE of the Trials, Condemnations, Executions, and Behaviour of the several Criminals, at the Gallows and Stake, with their *Speeches* and *Confessions*; with Notes, Observations and Reflections occasionally interspersed throughout the Whole

AN APPENDIX, wherein is set forth some additional Evidence concerning the said Conspiracy and Conspirators, which has come to Light since their Trials and Executions.

I. LISTS of the several Persons (Whites and Blacks) committed on Account of the Conspiracy; and of the several Criminals executed, and of those transported with the Places whereto.

By the Recorder of the City of NEW YORK.

Quid facient Domini, audent cum talia Fures? Virg. Ecl.

NEW-YORK
Printed by *James Parker* at the New Printing-Office, 1744.

FAC-SIMILIE OF TITLE PAGE.[1]

[1] "Horsmanden wrote his book to defend the course of the authorities. He merely left a monument of their senseless credulity, disregard of law and reason, and greedy bigotry. His work was apparently a lucrative speculation: and Clarke, having succeeded in convincing the lords of trade that he had been a martyr, was compensated very largely for the losses which his letters say he was so unable to bear, but which left him in his poverty, as Smith tells us, the snug sum of £100,000, made during his career in New-York." Extract from an address before the New-York Historical Society by John Gilmary Shea.

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seems to have been roused by the fearful scenes that followed their hasty action. No one was shocked at the fate of the negroes writhing at the stake, or doubted for a moment the horrible delusion.

Of the condition of the people of the city in 1741–42, we cannot form any pleasant picture. The existence of white and black slavery in all its worst forms must have deprived the free laborer of his just reward. Imprisonment for debt, with all its ancient barbarity, still terrified the honest but unfortunate trader. The building in the Park was the common prison for convicts, negroes, and debtors. A paper currency of doubtful value checked the course of trade. Disease, arising from the uncleanly condition of the city and the habits of the people, raged constantly. It is doubtful if the negro quarters and the kitchens of our ancestors were ever free from smallpox and fevers. No sewers purified the streets; the docks were foul and filthy; the churchyards spread disease; the bad water and the tainted air of summer often invited yellow fever. Education was almost unknown; the working-people lived in barbarous ignorance; the charms of its situation and the kindly hand of nature alone made New-York the fair and gracious city it seemed to the European visitors. The winter of 1740–41 had been one of intense severity and suffering to the people of the province. It was known as the "hard winter." The extreme cold began in the middle of November and continued until near the end of March. Never in the memory of the older citizens had such severe weather, such incessant frosts, fallen upon New-York. The Hudson was frozen from shore to shore, and was easily crossed on the ice.[1] Great and frequent falls of snow covered the ground to the depth, of six feet; cattle perished for want of fodder, the wild deer starved and were easily taken in the snow. In the city the poor suffered for want of fuel and food, and political discontent followed. It was one of those rare winters, like that of 1790 or 1835, when the Arctic climate seems to descend upon us and the course of nature to change. As the summer came on, the enormities of the negro plot must have covered the city with gloom. The exciting trials, the madness of the community, the burnings, the hangings, must have made New-York a scene of endless horror. Fierce, rude, pitiless, our ancestors represent a distinct and barbarous age from which we have at last escaped.

[1] Smith, (Hist. N. Y., 2: 169), says that great flocks of pigeons filled the forests in early spring.

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THE INVENTOR OF THE STEAMBOAT:—JAMES RUMSEY.[1]

I SHALL undertake in this paper to prove that James Rumsey was the real inventor of the steamboat. He was a grandson of Charles Rumsey, a native of Wales and a distinguished officer in the British army, who came to America about 1665, landing at Charlestown, S. C. He afterwards removed to New York, and, still later, to Philadelphia, but was not satisfied until he came to Maryland and settled at the head of Bohemia River, in Cecil county; and here he spent the remainder of his life.

James Rumsey's father was Edward, son of Charles, of Wales. James was born at the head of Bohemia, in 1743. Soon after attaining his majority he removed to Shepherdstown, on the Virginia side of the Potomac, about ten miles above Harper's Ferry. Here he engaged in mechanical pursuits, and for a while superintended the work of the Potomac Company, whose main object was the improvement of the navigation of the river. He made many improvements in machinery, especially in that appertaining to milling, and in the application of the vast water power of the river.

In the summer of 1783 he conceived the idea of navigating by steam, and to the day of his death that idea engrossed his mind. It is impossible at this day to imagine the numerous formidable difficulties under which he labored in the attainment of his object. Even in England where steam had been for some time applied to land-carriage, the engine, boiler and appliances were extremely rude and inefficient, while in America where the application of steam to land-carriage was as yet unknown, there was, of course, no one at all possessing the knowledge or skill necessary to fabricate such machinery. He had to resort to various workshops throughout the country for materials and appliances to serve his need, and, though not a practical mechanic, to fashion them often with his own hands into the required shape. Under these many adverse circumstances his progress was necessarily slow as well as expensive, and withal so unsatisfactory as, at first, to promise but imperfect results. Yet he so far succeeded as to make, during the following year, a private experiment in order to test some of the principles of his invention; and notwithstanding much of his machinery in the first attempt was so defective as quickly to fail in many parts and to require in some instances reconstruction throughout, yet so well convinced was he by this experiment, of ultimate success, that, at the October session of the Virginia legislature he obtained the passage of an act guaranteeing to him the exclusive use of his invention in navigating the waters of that State, and on the 26th of November he applied to the

[1] This paper was read before the Historical Society of Harford County, Md.

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legislature of Maryland for a similar act in his favor, which was also granted—in the latter case, a term of ten years being specified. His invention is described, in his application and in the act itself, as "a method of propelling vessels by means of the reaction of a stream of water forced by the agency of steam through a trunk, or cylinder, parallel to the keel, out at the stern.

Soon after Rumsey saw his way clear to the ultimate attainment of his great object—namely, in November, 1784—he communicated his invention to Washington, as the latter explicitly states in a letter written sixteen months afterward to Thomas Johnson, Governor of Maryland; which letter is still extant. And so impressed was that illustrious man with the boldness and originality of the invention that he declares to Gov. Johnson, he thought it at the time "rather an ebulition of the inventor's genius than anything likely to be available."

Throughout the year 1785 Rumsey was wholly occupied in the construction of a boat and in procuring, adapting, testing and improving the several parts of the machinery to be used in her propulsion. In this difficult task he was encouraged and patronized to a commendable extent by Gov. Johnson, who owned the Catoctin iron-works, some twenty miles from Shepherdstown, where the construction of the boat was going on at the same time. At these works, part of the machinery was forged. Another portion was made at Antietam iron-works, while the boiler, the two cylinders, pumps, pipes, etc., were fashioned in Baltimore by Christopher Raborg and Charles Weir. In December, 1785, the boat was brought down from Shepherdstown to Harper's Ferry, and everything was ready for the trial, which, however, was of necessity deferred until spring, the river being soon closed by ice.

On the 14th of March, 1786, the trial took place in the presence of hundreds of spectators, some of them the most respectable citizens of Maryland, several of whom left on record written testimonials of the success of the trial.

This first of all steamboats was about eighty feet in length, and was propelled by a steam engine which worked a vertical pump in the middle of the vessel, by which the water was drawn in at the bow and expelled at the stern through a horizontal cylinder in the bottom. The reaction of the refluent water carried her against the current at the rate of four or five miles an hour, with a load of three tons, besides the engine, which weighed one-third of a ton. The boiler, cylindrical in form, held but five gallons of water and required only one pint at a time. The whole machinery occupied a space not exceeding that required for four flour-barrels. Dr Alexander, of Baltimore, one of the most intelligent and trustworthy citizens of Maryland who was on board during the trial, certified that "every person present believed that Mr. Rumsey had accomplished all his wishes."

In 1788, probably for lack of means or for want of skillful mechanics to bring his project to completion in a more permanent form, (for everything about this trial boat was necessarily hurried, imperfect and lacking in

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durability) Rumsey repaired to Philadelphia, where a society was at once formed for the purpose of aiding him, called the Rumsey (or Rumseyan) Society, of which Benjamin Franklin was a member. In the same year, however, and before anything material was accomplished in the matter, he thought it best to have recourse to the more experienced and more skillful mechanics of England, and accordingly sailed for that country, where he arrived, a stranger and with slender means. He soon procured from the British government patents for steam navigation as well as for various inventions and improvements in steam engines and boilers which were then used in England for land carriage. Of him, Dr. Warville, a learned correspondent of Jefferson, wrote in the following February: "I have just become acquainted with Mr. Rumsey, of Virginia, a gentleman of great ingenuity, who proposes building a vessel, in which, without sails, and by steam alone, he will cross the Atlantic in fifteen days."

Many of Rumsey's inventions went into general use in England, among them, the cylinder-boiler, identical in principle with the one which he had used on the Potomac in 1786, and which was far superior to the old tub or still-boiler. He was, however, often compelled to abandon temporarily his main object and engage in other pursuits to raise means to resume it. For example, he at one time realized something by making improvements in certain water works. But again, in order to avoid a London jail and the resulting delay, causing, perhaps, the defeat of all hopes, he was under the necessity of transferring to others, at a ruinous sacrifice, his interest in these late inventions; and by so doing he was necessarily hampered during the brief remainder of his life. Nor was that all. His manly feelings were often sorely wounded and his sensibilities kept in a state of chronic irritation. The newspapers made him the target for their ridicule, and playhouse wit sparkled around his great invention to the infinite amusement of the pit. Indeed, he was almost universally regarded as wild or visionary. Still he struggled on—constructed a boat of about one hundred tons burden and had brought so near completion the machinery to propel it, as to be able to fix upon a day for a public exhibition to prove its efficiency. But on the 23d of December, 1792, when on the very eve of his triumph and while explaining to the Philosophical Society of London the principle of one of his inventions, his life was suddenly ended by apoplexy—and with it ended his grand project—there being no one interested in it possessing sufficient skill and ability to carry it out. All that he left—boat and machinery included—barely sufficed to satisfy anxious and greedy creditors. Thus came to naught, for the time, one of the grandest conceptions of inventive genius described by the inventor himself as "the navigation of our great rivers, the lakes, the vast ocean, by the agency of steam."

I must not omit to mention an experiment made by Rumsey on the Potomac about the 1st of September, 1784—the more especially as it seems to have been conformed with the experiment already referred to, which he made a few weeks later in steam

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navigation; although in the former experiment, steam was not used at all in propelling the model-boat. This experiment came off in the presence of Washington and some of his friends; and soon afterwards, Washington gave Rumsey the following certificate of date 7th September, 1784:

"I have seen the model of Mr. Rumsey's boat, constructed to work against the stream, examined the powers upon which it acts, been eye-witness to an actual experiment in running water of some rapidity, and give it as my opinion (though I had little faith before), that he has discovered the art of working boats by mechanism and small manual assistance, against rapid currents; that the discovery is of vast importance, may be of great usefulness in our inland navigation, and if it succeeds—of which I have no doubt—that the value of it is greatly enhanced by the simplicity of the works, which, when seen and explained, may be executed by the most common mechanic."

As Rumsey had a year before this date conceived the idea of navigation by steam, which we are told ever after engrossed his thoughts, it is probable that this experiment by hand-power alone was made for the purpose of ascertaining, with as little outlay as possible, the kind of machinery which could be used to the best advantage in the model-steamboat which he soon afterwards constructed and with which he made the private experiment in the following November—as already stated—preliminary to that made with his sixty-foot boat in the following March.

On Feb. 9, 1839, the following joint resolution was introduced in Congress:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives,

"That the president be and is hereby requested to present to James Rumsey, Jr., the only son and surviving child of James Rumsey, deceased, a suitable gold medal in commemoration of his father's services and high agency in giving to the world the benefits of the steamboat."

The debate on the resolution was closed by Mr. Edward Rumsey, member from Kentucky, a relative (most probably a nephew), of the inventor, and from his speech, many of the facts given in this paper have been taken. He concluded by stating that "during Mr. Rumsey's absence in England, his son [to whom the medal was proposed to be given], was, by a malignant disease, deprived of the faculties of speech and hearing, and although talented, ingenious, ready and dexterous, at various mechanical employments, he is now gaining a scanty subsistence by daily labor, with little preparation for approaching old age . . To the support of this stricken one I have thought his country might contribute something more substantial than a medal. But it is not for me to solicit it, even for him; and I shall be deeply gratified if the Government shall honor the memory of his father for all his sacrifices and services by the adoption of the resolution."

The resolution then passed the House by an *unanimous* vote.

Here begins the unpleasant, but a very essential part of this paper—namely, to disprove the claims made by some of the many friends and ad-

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mirers of two other men, to the invention of the steamboat, Robert Fulton and John Fitch, both citizens of the great Keystone State, the one by birth, the other by adoption, the latter being a native of Connecticut. Their claims, especially those of Fitch, are upheld by Pennsylvanians with a persistence scarcely to be commended in view of the strength of the controverting facts. One might suppose that Pennsylvania, after robbing Maryland of one-half of her rightful land surface, would ever afterwards be inclined to justice at least, if not to liberality, in matters appertaining to the arts and sciences. Such, however, is very far from being the case. Not satisfied with having, in the long ago, shamefully mutilated her little neighbor territorially, a century later, emboldened perchance by her impunity, she renewed her encroachments—this time, upon the less tangible domains of the mind—and has kept them up—and by sheer tenacity, with more or less success—for more than a hundred years.

Hence it becomes my duty, as a local historian aiming at truth and accuracy and jealously guarding the fame of my native State and of her eminent citizens, to examine the evidence offered to establish the claims of the two men named. To be sure, I have only a part, and perhaps only a very small part of the pamphlets, articles, broadsides, etc., issued for that purpose; but if such as I have are a fair specimen of the whole—and I have no reason to doubt that they are, for they have been impartially gathered—I may safely say that he who seeks to reconcile them to each other will have to secure the services of that proverbially astute fellow, "a Philadelphia lawyer," or his equivalent, to accomplish anything in that direction. There is, however, at least one thing to be said in favor of "the witness on the other side,"—they certainly have not acted in collusion to any great extent in making out their case. Each one tells a modicum of what he knows about it and a vast deal more it is to be feared, of which he did not know, and, if the truth must be told, what he did not himself believe, though expecting others to give it full credence.

The author of an article on the subject in the American supplement to Rees' Encyclopedia published more than fifty years ago, says that "as early as 1783 Fitch made an experiment in steam navigation on the Delaware." But inasmuch as Fitch himself never claimed to have even thought of steam navigation until two years later than the date here given, I shall dismiss this assertion as unworthy of further notice.

This writer further alleges that "Rumsey, with unlimited patronage, and after a full trial abandoned the project as hopeless." This is not only a gross perversion of the facts as I have shown, but cruel withal. He was cramped for means throughout—received derision instead of patronage, pursued his object to the very last and had almost attained it when overtaken by death.

In the archives of the Pennsylvania Historical Society is a letter from the eminent American painter, Rembrandt Peale, who states that "in the spring of 1785 he saw the first experiment ever made by Fitch in steam navigation, which occurred on Schuylkill river, at Market street.

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The vessel was a shallop, with about twenty persons on board. On the deck was a small furnace and machinery connected with a complex crank projecting over the stern to give motion to three or four paddles resembling snow-shovels, which hung in the water. . . Soon afterwards Fitch repeated his experiment upon the Delaware with improved paddles on the sides of the boat: this experiment was so satisfactory that it induced several gentlemen to furnish him with the means of going to England for the purpose of prosecuting his invention—but he died on the voyage. It is known that Mr. Fulton was a fellow-passenger, and there is every reason to suppose that they freely conferred on the subject of steam navigation. Fulton's motive for going to England was to cultivate his talent for painting." The remainder of so much of Mr. Peale's letter as is given, relates entirely to Fulton.

Now, as Mr. Peale was born in 1778 he was but seven years old when he says he witnessed this scene, and if he wrote this account of it in 1851—as seems to have been the case—sixty-six years had elapsed since the experiment. In view of those facts alone it is not too much to say that he has probably misstated the date, and perhaps also the place where the experiment was made, especially as two persons who were evidently far more trustworthy eye-witnesses—presently to be quoted from—give an entirely different date and locality to what was clearly the very same experiment as is proved by the machinery used—the date being three years later and the locality the Delaware.

It is proper to explain my assertion that so respectable and eminent a man as Mr. Peale was not so trustworthy as he might have been. He says: "Fitch started for England in the same vessel with Fulton when the latter went over to learn painting, [which was in 1787], but died on the voyage." Now, it is well known that Fitch never started for England at all, and so far from dying at sea in the year mentioned, he died eleven years afterwards at Bardstown, Kentucky. While, therefore, it is quite likely that Mr. Peale describes with reasonable accuracy the boat and machinery which, from their entire novelty might well make an indelible impression upon his memory, his statement as to date and locality, contradicted as it is by two witnesses whose evidence contains no such palpable misstatements as those above exposed, is, to say the least, a fair subject for doubt.

A writer in the *Philadelphia Press* of Sep. 15th, 1887—the 100th aniversary of the meeting, in that city, of the constitutional convention—holds up for admiration the past as well as the present glories of the City of Brotherly Love; and devotes a column to what he calls "Fitch's Great Work." He says: "Fitch was born in Connecticut, removed when forty years old [in 1783] to Pennsylvania, and settled at Neshaminy, in Buck's County," that "in April, 1785, he set afloat upon a small stream that ran by the town of Davisville, in that county, a rude model for navigation by steam, which he had built with his own hands. President Ewing, of the University of Pennsylvania, witnessed the trial, and gave Fitch let-

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ters to prominent men asking their aid with Congress. This was without result, but the State of New Jersey granted him a patent right to navigate all the streams for fourteen years. This, however, profited him nothing, for he wanted financial aid, and for this he came to Philadelphia, where the first steamboat company that the country had ever known was organized to promote his object. He made his first trial of his improved model, on the Delaware, in 1786. The company demanded more speed than was then attained, and he again went to work and in August, 1787, while the continental convention was in session, he made his trial, many of the members of the convention attending, some of whom certified that the invention was valuable and of practical use. His boat on this occasion was forty-five feet long, with a twelve-inch cylinder. The machinery consisted of upright paddles worked on each side of the boat by means of rods and a crank. In 1788 he improved his boat and made another trip. In the same year he made a still further improvement by placing the upright paddles at the stern."

Now, it will be recollected that Mr. Peale says the boat which he saw in 1785 had just this arrangement of the machinery. But according to this *Press* writer, it was Fitch's very latest improvement, up to this date (1788), so that one of them must have been mistaken and no doubt the one at fault was Mr. Peale, who, as I have shown, was very far from being infallible.

The writer in the *Press* goes on to say, "Rumsey made the trial trip with his boat in 1787, making four miles an hour with it against the current." Whereas, I have proved by evidence that cannot be impeached that Rumsey's trip was made in the spring of 1786.

Appleton's Cyclopedia tells us that "Fitch in April, 1785, conceived the idea of running carriages by steam, but gave it up in a week and turned his attention to the propulsion of vessels by steam. . . In August he petitioned Congress about it. . . In September he presented to the American Philosopher's Society a drawing, model and tube-boiler. . . Next he petitioned the Virginia legislation. Madison presented his memorial and Patrick Henry, the Governor, took an interest in the plan ; but the legislature was slow, and the Pennsylvania legislature was next applied to. The committee made a favorable report, as did also a committee of the Maryland legislature, which he likewise petitioned. He then applied to the legislature of New Jersey and was granted the exclusive privilege desired for fourteen years."

Now, it will be observed that this writer, one of the latest on the subject—and no doubt after a thorongh examination, as the Appletons were not likely to employ one who would slur his work—does not even allude to so important a matter as an experiment made by Fitch in April of this year, as mentioned by the writer in in the *Press*. How could he altogether overlook so vital a matter, if it had any foundation in fact? Moreover the *Press* writer states that Fitch set his model afloat before President Ewing in April, 1785. Is it at all likely, or even possible, that, in that day of rude workmanship, Fitch, or

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any other man, could, in the brief space of one month, waste a week on land-carriage, turn his attention to steam navigation, which he had never before thought about, or even heard of, make a model to illustrate the great principles which were the result of his reflections, and give an exhibition of its practical working. It would have been absolutely impossible without divine inspiration in its conception, and miraculous aid in its execution. The writer says "the Virginia legislature was slow in acting on his memorial." Of course, it was slow—and indeed it never acted at all—and, no doubt, for the very good reason that it had already, more than a year before, granted to Rumsey the exclusive use, within the bounds of Virginia, of the very same invention. He might have told us that the Maryland legislature too, declined to act for the same reason—Rumsey was a year ahead of him here also. The same writer goes on to say that "Fitch being thus disappointed, formed a private company and in April, 1786, produced a working model, with a one-inch cylinder." This is, no doubt, the model which the *Press* writer says Fitch exhibited to President Ewing in the previous April; he has antedated the event just one year. "Three months later," says the Cyclopedia writer, "Fitch moved a skiff on the Delaware." This is, doubtless, the experiment referred to in the *Press* as occurring in that year. While the former, however, says it was satisfactory, the latter says it was not. "In March, 1787, [after a year's delay], the Pennsylvania legislature granted the privileges asked for; and then the legislatures of New York and Delaware. In August, 1787, the experiment was made before the Constitutional Convention. Soon after this success the company first heard of Rumsey's experiment." Can any sane person believe that Rumsey's experiment on the Potomac was not known in Philadelphia—which had been stirred up on the subject by Fitch—until seventeen months after it occurred? In 1788, says the same writer, Fitch built a second boat, with the old machinery, and ran four miles an hour on the Delaware. He built a third boat in 1789, with an eighteen-inch cylinder, which was tried in the following year and ran seven and one-half miles an hour.

I find in a clipping from a Philadelphia journal—the name of which is unknown to me, but of date about 1830—a communication from an intelligent acquaintance and friend of Fitch, signed "D," his residence being in the District of Columbia. He says: "The company which Fitch formed, constructed for him a boat of about fifty tons burden. It was put in operation in 1788 and performed a number of trips on the Delaware," during one of which "D" was on board. "The boat was propelled by five paddles over the stern on a crank which had a rising pulley turned by a chain of short links made in the form of a watch-chain and extending to the shaft of the balance wheel, on which was a corresponding pulley. The chain and paddles worked very roughly and produced a great clatter: the extra steam was discharged through a short tube which kept all hands at a respectable distance. But it was, on the whole, a very fair experiment." He adds that "the boat was soon af-

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terwards burned to the water's edge; the company abandoned the project. Fitch offered his invention to the French on the Mississippi and afterwards, poor and neglected, wandered over the far west and his bones lie moulding on the banks of the Ohio." There is not one word about Fitch's earlier attempts and experiments, which seems a rather strange omission by one who was a personal friend—while he is equally silent as to Rumsey's efforts in the same direction, of which he may,or may not, have known. The boat last described was no doubt the one on which Mr. Peale would have us believe he made a trip three years before—the arrangement of the machinery being almost identical—the slight difference in its description by the two writers being attributable to the great length of time that had elapsed since the trial.

"D" says, "Fitch was undoubtedly the first man who applied the power of steam to the paddles of a boat with complete success in America." This is true enough. Rumsey did not use "paddles" at all in his boat, which was "propelled by a stream of water forced by steam out at the stern," yet the principle was the same—both boats being propelled by pressure backwards against the water, the one by means of paddles, the other by a stream discharged astern. From "D's" cautious wording it may perhaps be fairly inferred that he thought Rumsey was ahead of Fitch in the matter: otherwise, why did he not unqualifiedly say that his friend Fitch was the first man who applied steam to navigation?

In an article in the New York *Review* of January, 1839, on "Steam Navigation," it is stated that "Mr. Ogden, claiming certain rights as representative of Fitch, asserted them by petition before the New York legislature," and that "Gen. Bloomfield testified before the committee raised on the petition, fixing the time of Fitch's experiment in 1787 or 1788." We are led by the phraseology and by the circumstances of the case to suppose this was Fitch's first experiment.

De Warville, one of Jefferson's learned correspondents, in his work published in 1789, says that "being in Philadelphia in 1788 he was present at Fitch's experiment. He, too, fails to speak of any earlier experiments, which he may have heard of, made by Fitch.

Day, in his "Historical Collection of Pennsylvania," alleges that "Fitch's experiment was made in 1788" and that "he ran his boat from Philadelphia to Burlington at the rate of eight miles an hour." This is double the speed which all other writers give of this particular boat. Day, like all other Pennsylvanians, speaks of Fitch as "the original inventor of steamboats." He, however, gives no hint that he had ever made any experiment but that of 1788.

Washington has left on record proof that is alone sufficient to establish Rumsey's claims. In Sparks' life of that illustrious man is a letter which he wrote to Rumsey, of date, March, 1786, in which he urges Rumsey to "bring forward his invention; warns him that his secret is leaking out; that one individual had called on him claiming for himself a plan of steam navigation, and requesting a letter of introduction, which he declined giving." The "one individual"

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could hardly have been any other than Fitch, for no one else, except Rumsey, was intent upon such pursuits. But another letter from Washington proves beyond all doubt that it was Fitch. This letter, bearing date, Nov., 1787, and addressed to Gov. Thomas Johnson, says that "Rumsey communicated to him his steamboat invention in Nov., 1784, and that some time afterwards Mr. Fitch called upon him, claiming a similar invention, and requesting an introductory letter, which he declined giving, informing Mr. Fitch that although he was not at liberty to disclose the principles of Mr. Rumsey's discovery, he could venture to assure him that he (Fitch) was not original but that the same idea had been communicated to him by Mr. Rumsey."

The course pursued by Franklin towards Rumsey and Fitch, respectively, shows unmistakably that he regarded the former as the inventor of the steamboat. He became a member of the society formed in Philadelphia in 1788 to aid him. While, on the other hand, Fitch and his friends at that very time were making every effort to establish his pretensions and to promote his project; there is no hint that Franklin lent him a helping hand, which, both being natives of New England, and Pennsylvanians by adoption, it is reasonable to suppose he would have done had he considered his claim superior, or even equal to Rumsey's. I have seen a list of the names of the most distinguished members of the Constitutional Convention who attended Fitch's experiment in 1787, and the name of the great Franklin, one of the most eminent members of that august body, who was ever ready to promote useful inventions, and was himself an inventor of no mean degree, is not included among them—as it most assuredly would have been had he honored the occasion with his presence.

Now let us briefly review and compare in the order of their date these claims put forth in Fitch's favor: Rees' Encyclopedia says "Fitch made his first experiment in steam navigation in 1783 on the Delaware," whereas Fitch himself never claimed to have thought of steam navigation at all until two years later. Peale says "Fitch made a trip on the Schuylkill in the spring of 1785, in a shallop, with twenty passengers aboard, but from his description of the machinery, it was the same which two others of these writers tell us he invented and used for the first time, three years later. The *Press* says "Fitch in April, 1785, set a rude model afloat on a small stream in Bucks County, some twenty miles north of Philadelphia." Appleton's Cyclopedia says "Fitch in the same month and year, presented to the Philadelphia Philosophical Society a drawing, with model and tube- boiler."

There is no doubt that the two writers last quoted give the very first results of Fitch's conception of navigation by steam, and these results were only models. A model, according to Webster is "the representation of a machine, or structure of any kind, on a reduced scale." It is absurd to suppose, if Fitch at this time "ran a shallop carrying twenty persons," as Peale tells us he did, that these two recent writers would wholly overlook that important fact, and record, instead of it, the presentation or

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the setting afloat of a mere model. It seems a little strange, too, that, while one of these writers says "the model set afloat in the presence of President Ewing," the other merely mentions its presentation to the society, altogether ignoring the aid and patronage extended by the eminent president of the university. But even admitting the truth of both statements, Fitch was still behind Rumsey who, as I have shown, had made a private experiment the year before, had communicated his invention to Washington, and had procured the passage of acts by the legislatures of Virginia and Maryland, giving him the exclusive use of his invention within their respective bounds.

The *Press* says that "in 1786 Fitch ran an improved model on the Delaware." Appleton says that "Fitch in April of the same year, produced a working model, and three months later ran a skiff on the Delaware." Now, it seems passing strange that the *Press* writer makes no mention at all of that skiff, but says it was only a model which Fitch ran in that year, "an improvement upon the model which he first set afloat in 1785," and that "he ran his first boat before the members of the convention, in 1787." According to him, all Fitch's trials, up to this last date, had been made with models. But even conceding that he ran a skiff, as Appleton says, "three months later," than April, 1786 —which would be in July—Rumsey was again ahead of him, having made his successful trial trip with a boat eighty feet long in the preceding March, already shown.

The *Cyclopedia* and the *Press* agree, however, (and it is quite a relief to find, at last, two of Mr. Fitch's numerous ardent admirers reaching an agreement as to time, place, manner, and form of even one of his many alleged experiments) that "in August, 1787, he ran a boat"—not a model—"on the Delaware in presence of a vast crowd, among whom were many members of the Constitutional Convention." And there is no trustworthy evidence, so far as I have been able to learn, that he had ever run a boat before that date.

I have no intention of charging Fitch with stealing Rumsey's invention—my object being merely to prove that Rumsey was the inventor (the *original* inventor, if the tautology be allowable) of navigation by steam, or, if you please, of the *steamboat*, and that Fitch followed in his wake, as it were. I will only say, on this point, that Rumsey himself thought that Fitch had by no means acted fairly in the matter. When he went to Philadelphia in 1788 to form his society—already alluded to—he published a pamphlet of date May 7th, of that year, in which he roundly denounced Fitch, intimating that he had got his idea of a steamboat from a description of Rumsey's boat given him by Captain Bedinger, who had witnessed the trial trip on the Potomac in March, 1786.

Here I leave them both, with the remark that I hope to see, at some not very distant day, the rest of the voluminous testimony which has been offered in Fitch's behalf, being led to believe, by the specimens thereof, above given, that the entire mass of it must convince the most incredulous Pennsylvanian that *James Rumsey was the inventor of the Steamboat.*

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As regards Robert Fulton, in all the accounts which I have seen of his invention, except the account by Mr. Peale already cited—a part, at least, of which is palpably incorrect—no hint is given that he owed anything to Fitch, Rumsey or or any one else, and we are left to infer that his experiments, which resulted, after fifteen years of laudable effort, (with intermissions for lack of means), in the permanent establishment of the steamboat upon our waters, were begun by him *ab initio*—that the grand conception was brought forth from his capacious brain spick and span new—just as though Rumsey and Fitch had never been born. Yet the hard facts have, to say the least, an ugly look that is far from favoring Mr. Fulton's claims (or the claims of his friends for him), to originality in the matter. Leaving out Peale's testimony on this point, I have found nothing to show even a probability that he got any of his ideas about steam navigation from Fitch, except the mere fact that he resided in Philadelphia throughout the time of the latter's experiments in and around that city, that he had himself a strong bent for mechanics and for everything relating thereto, and would therefore naturally be on the lookout for any public exhibitions of the sort. He, however, went to England in 1787, and this may have been before Fitch's trial trip in that year, which as I have shown was probably his first public experiment. Hence Fulton may have known nothing about Fitch or his work when he went to England to live. His relations with Rumsey, however, in that country, are calculated to rouse suspicion, though the evidence to that effect is, after all, only presumptive. He and Rumsey lived in London several years, during which time the latter devoted himself to his great invention, while Fulton studied painting under Benjamin West. A letter written at this period by Rumsey to West, then in America, shows that Fulton and the writer were on terms of intimacy. With Fulton's great talent for mechanics, it is hardly possible that his friend—strangers as they both were in a strange land—did not often confer with him on the subject which engrossed all his thoughts—nay, it is more than probable that he even took him fully into his confidence on the all-absorbing theme. Rumsey died on the 23d of December, 1792, and the very next year Fulton, who, meanwhile, had removed to the country, where, in addition to painting, he made many improvements in the construction of canals, turned his attention to steam navigation, and during the same year made such experiments as inspired him with great confidence in its practicability.

Now can there be any doubt that, although he seemed to enter the field against his living friend who had presumably trusted him with his secret, he stepped in and took up his work where death had left it. Had he, on hearing of Rumsey's death, gone at once to London and openly pushed his friend's almost finished work to completion, while he would have deserved the thanks of the world, he could not have gone down to future generations as a great inventor. Hence he may have preferred to begin anew, utilizing the knowledge he had obtained from Rumsey.

Fulton, however, had to abandon

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for a while, his efforts for lack of funds. But on going to Paris, Chancellor Livingston, of New York, the American minister to France, furnished him with ample means, and from that time he went straight through with the great project, just as Rumsey would, no doubt, have done had he not been so constantly hampered for want of funds and finally struck down when the glittering goal was in full sight.

In 1803 Fulton succeeded in running a steamboat on the Seine. But, resolved to confer upon his native land the benefits of his great achievement, he returned to America and in 1806, aided still by the generous Livingston, he constructed, and in the following year launched, on the Hudson, the first of the fifteen steamboats which he constructed during the remaining eight years of his life—making improvements in each. In his experiment on the Seine and in his first one in this country he seems to have used paddles; but he afterwards substituted wheels.

The writer in the *Press* states that "Fitch in 1796 experimented, on a pond near New York City, with a boat propelled by a screw, but was not successful." This, if true, shows despite the failure, that Fitch was a genius—as the screw is now mostly used in steamships. He adds that in the same year Fitch went to Kentucky and died there soon afterwards.

The writer in the *Press* says that "in 1820, the first steamboat ran down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans." This seems to be an egregious mistake, inasmuch as the late John H. B. Latrobe, in a paper read, some years since, before the Maryland Historical Society, states that in 1812 Mr. Roosevelt (who was a brother-in-law of Mr. Latrobe), built a steamboat in Pittsburg and steamed down to New Orleans in the same year.

GEORGE W. ARCHER.

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TWO CANADIAN GRAVES.

AT the south end of St. Matthew's Episcopal Church, as you enter the gate leading to the burial ground, situated on the principal street of the ancient capital of Canada, may be seen the grave of Sir Walter Scott's favorite brother, a man of infinite humor and excellent parts, to whom was attributed for a time the authorship of the Waverly novels. This, of course, was before they were acknowledged by Sir Walter. He was several years younger than his highly gifted brother, and pursued for a short time his father's profession, but he was unfortunate, having engaged in speculations respecting farms, and other matters out of the line of his legal business. Through the aid of influential friends he afterwards became paymaster of the Seventieth regiment, serving for many years in Kingston and Quebec, where he died early in 1823, and was buried by the side of his youngest daughter. Several venerable Canadians, who still survive at nearly fourscore and ten, remember Major Scott as a tall, handsome man of martial figure, fond of society, and, like Sir Walter, an excellent story-teller; but, unlike his gifted brother, able to sing a good Scotch song, which he frequently did at the regimental dinners, as well as at his own fireside. He married Elizabeth, a daughter of the family of Mac Culloch, of Ardwell, an ancient Galwegian stock, by whom he left three daughters and a son, Walter Scott, who, at the time of his father's death, was a lieutenant of engineers in the East India Company's service. In Lockhart's Life of Scott, there are several letters addressed to the major by Sir Walter, from one of which, written in 1817, the following extract is taken: "Should you remain in Canada you must consider your family as settling in that state; and as I cannot believe it will remain very long separated from America [the United States, Sir Walter should have said], I should always think this equal to depriving them of the advantage of British subjects—at least of those which they might derive from the irrespectable connections in this country." The poet said of the paymaster that he "knew of no person who possessed more power of humor or perception of the ridiculous." After the major's death his family returned to Scotland, and were for a time Sir Walter's guests at Abbotsford. Both brothers are now represented by great-granddaughters, who are almost as widely separated as are the graves of their ancestors, one residing at Abbotsford, the other in Dresden, the wife of an officer of the German army. The granite stone which marks the major's grave, which was pointed out to me in September, 1890, by my friend, the late greatly beloved Bishop Williams

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of Quebec, is in excellent condition, and bears the following inscription :

Sacred
To the memory of
Thomas Scott, Esquire,
Late Paymaster
Of the 70th Regiment,
Who departed this life
4th February, 1823.

And his daughter
Barbara Scott,
Who died
On the 5th October, 1821,
In the eighth year of her age.

John Wilson perhaps the best singer of Scottish songs of his own age, or of any age, visited the United States and Canada in 1849, accompanied by his daughter, who assisted him in the very successful series of entertainments which he gave, consisting of Scottish songs and recitations. He had given several concerts in St. George's Hall, Quebec, and was announced for "A Nicht wi' Burns," before his departure. On Saturday, July 7, while fishing in Lake St. Joseph, he was taken ill, it was supposed from exposure to the excessive heat, and died at an early hour on the following Monday morning, one of the first victims to the cholera, which was so fatal in Canada during that summer. He was buried in Mount Hermon cemetery, on the banks of the beautiful St. Lawrence, some three miles south of the Plains of Abraham, where Wolfe won the immortal victory which changed the destiny of Canada. A few years ago David Kennedy, another admirable Scottish singer, intrusted to Dr. George Stewart, of Quebec, the sum of ten pounds to be devoted to forever caring for the grave of the gifted and amiable John Wilson. Three years after Wilson's greatly regretted death, a number of his countrymen of Quebec erected over his grave a noble column, surmounted by an urn, with appropriate drapery. The monument bears the following inscription :

Sacred to the memory of
John Wilson,
The Scottish vocalist,
Celebrated for the excellent taste,
Feeling, and execution
With which he sang the airs
Of his native Caledonia.
He was an amiable and unassuming man.
Died at Quebec, July, 1849.

Erected by some of his friends and
Admirers in Canada, 1852.

Shelly, whose ashes lie under Italian skies, near those of Keats and our Richard Henry Dana, said "that it would almost make one in love with death to be buried in so sweet a spot." The same could be said of Wilson's Canadian resting-place. Although far away from his dearly loved "North Countrie" he is surrounded by men of his own race, on whose tombstones way be seen Mackenzie and Macdougall, Campbell and Grant, Fraser and Forsyth, Ross, Turnbull, and other ancient Scottish names, many, if not most of them, the sons and grandsons of the six-hundred and sixty-two gallant fellows of Fraser's Seventy-eighth Highlanders, who followed Wolfe up the steep and narrow *escalade* to the field where his untimely fate and that of his chivalric foe Montcalm, one hundred and thirty-four years ago, so well illustrated Gray's familiar line that

"The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

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RALEIGH'S "NEW FORT IN VIRGINIA"—1585.[1]

THE coast of North Carolina is a long, narrow chain of low sand-hills, locally called the Banks, separating the ocean from the broad, shallow bodies of water, Pamlico and Albermarle sounds, which are the estuaries of the Neuse and Roanoke and other great rivers of the state. At irregular intervals the line of the Banks is broken by narrow and ever-shifting inlets, through which flow the ocean tides, turning the inner waters into vast salt lakes, very rich in all varieties of sea products.

Within this breastwork of barren downs are few islands; but there is one of supreme importance in the history of the Anglo-Saxon race in America. Roanoke island, about twelve miles long by three in width, lies between Roanoke and Croatan sounds, the shallow waters which connect Pamlico and Albermarle, and is two miles from the Banks, and thrice that distance from the mainland. Here was established the first English colony; here was born the first white American; here was celebrated the first Protestant rite within the present limits of the United States. It is the starting-point of events as pregnant with great results in the marvelous history of our race, as was the landing of our forefathers on the shores of Kent, when they migrated from their Holstein homes more than a thousand years before.

Yet, interesting and important as is the spot, how little is known of it by the great majority of Americans, or of this first endeavor to plant the sturdy English stock in the soil of the new world! We are familiar with the bloody atrocities amid which St. Augustine was founded; we are versed in the story of John Smith's adventures at Jamestown, and of the arrival of the Mayflower at Plymouth; but this early attempt at English colonization, with all its romantic incidents, has been allowed to sink almost into oblivion. It is not from lack of historical materials, for they are very abundant. While of the explorations of the Cabots, we have no account from anyone who took part in their voyages, the story of Roanoke has been fully told by Barlowe, Lane, Hariot, and White, leaders in the several expeditions. These precious documents, together with water color illustrations of the new country, have all been preserved, and no tale of adventure is fuller of picturesque incident and romantic interest.

The colony bears the name of one of the most remarkable men in a very remarkable age—Raleigh the cavalier, statesman, philosopher, historian, poet, mariner, explorer, hero, martyr—

"The courtier's, scholar's, soldier's eye, tongue, sword."

No character in legend or history is

[1] The quotations in the text, unless otherwise stated, are from *Hakluyt's Voyages*, Vol. III. For the fate of the lost colony, see an article by Prof. Weeks, in the papers of the *American Historical Association*, Vol. V.

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more brilliant or versatile. The period, too, is the most interesting epoch in the life of the English people. Bacon and Shakespere were budding into manhood; Sidney had written the *Arcadia* and *Defense of Poesie*, and was about to find his apotheosis on the field of Zutphen; while Spenser was dreaming of the land of Faery, among "the green alders by the Mulla's shore;" Frobisher had made his Arctic explorations; and Drake had returned to amaze all England with his story of the circumnavigation of the globe.

The savage cruelties of Alva, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew, had kindled religious animosity into a fierce flame. The Prince of Orange was about to fall under the assassin's knife, and plots were thickening about the fair head of Mary Stuart, which were to bring her to the scaffold. The renaissance and the reformation had broken the shackles of the intellect, and widened the horizon of thought, while the great discoveries had opened new fields for the display of human energy. Men were giving up the speculations about the heavenly world, which had absorbed the intellectual activities of the middle ages, and were turning to the practical conquest of a world beyond the seas. England and Protestantism were gathering their forces for the last great struggle with Spain and the Latin church, for supremacy in the old world, and for mastery in the new.

The English claim to North America, from Newfoundland to Florida, was based upon the patent granted by Henry VII, in 1496, to John and Sebastian Cabot, the oldest American state paper of England. They reached our shores in 1497, before either Columbus or Amerigo Vespucci had discovered the mainland, and the meteor flag of England was the first that was unfurled on the continent.

The earliest serious attempt at English colonization was made in 1578, by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the half-brother of Raleigh. The latter was already conspicuous as a *preux chevalier* and champion of Protestantism. He had set before himself as one great aim in life the humiliation of Spain, and the weakening of the power of the Latin race and religion At the early age of seventeen he left the university of Oxford to join a band of a hundred gentlemen volunteers, who came to the aid of Coligny and the Huguenots—"a gallant company, nobly mounted and accoutred, and bearing for a motto on their standard 'Let valor decide the contest.'" France was then aflame with the reports of the massacre of the Huguenots in Florida, and the idea germinated in Raleigh's mind that a mortal blow might be dealt to the enemy beyond the seas. From the service of Coligny he passed to that of William the Silent, and all the while was growing in him the conviction which he expressed later in life, that the possession of America would decide the question of the supremacy of Spain or England. "For whatsoever Prince shall possesse it, shall bee the greatest, and if the King of Spayne enjoy it, he will become unresistable. I trust in God that he which

[1] "Letters patentes of King Henry VII., granted not John Gabote and his three Sonnes, for the discovery of newe and unknowen Landes. Quinto die Martii, anno regni nostri undecimo."

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is Lorde of Lords, will put it into her hart which is Lady of Ladies to possesse it."

In 1578 Raleigh took command of one of the seven small vessels of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's fleet, with which they hoped to reach our shores, and by establishing a colony, check the progress of the Spaniards, and "put a byt into their anchient enemye's mouth." The attempt was a failure; and on the second expedition, in 1583, Raleigh, who had fitted out one of the five ships, was forbidden by the queen to accompany his brother. Gilbert took formal possession of Newfoundland, but he lost his best ship off Sable Island; and on the return voyage the gallant old sailor went down off the Azores, with the Squirrel, his little craft of ten tons, his last noble words being, "Courage, my friends! We are as near heaven by sea as by land."

To Raleigh then came the scheme of colonization almost as an inheritance; and on Lady-Day, March 25, 1854, Queen Elizabeth issued to him a patent of discovery, granting him "all prerogatives, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, franchises, and pre-eminences, thereto or thereabouts, both by sea and land, whatsoever we by our letters patents may grant, and as we or any of our noble progenitors have heretofore granted to any person or persons, bodies politique or corporate."

Raleigh equipped two vessels under the command of Amadas and Barlowe, and from the pen of the latter we have an account of the expedition:

"The 27 day of Aprill, in the yere of our redemption 1584, we departed the West of England, with two barkes well furnished with men and victuals. . . . The tenth of May we arrived at the Canaries, and the tenth of June we were fallen with the Islands of the West Indies. . . . The second of July, we found shole water, wher we smelt so sweet and so strong a smel, as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with oderiferous flowers, by which we were assured, that the land could not be farre distant."

The characteristic of what Lane afterward called the "paradise of the world" may have been in Milton's mind when he described the approach of the evil spirit to the garden of Eden:

. "Now purer air
Meets his approach: . . . now gentle gales
Fanning their odoriferous wings dispense
Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
Those balmy spoils. As when to them who sail
Beyond the Cape of Hope, north-east winds blow
Sebean odours from the spicy shore
Of Araby the blest; with such delay
Well pleased they slack their course, and many a league
Cheered with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles." [1]

"Keeping good watch, and bearing but slack saile, the fourth of the same moneth [America's fated day!] we arrived upon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent, and we sayled along the same 120 miles before we could find any entrance, or river issuing into the Sea. The first that appeared unto us we enterd, and cast anker about three harquebuzshot within the haven's mouth: and after

[1] Paradise Lost, IV., 153-165.

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thankes given to God for our safe arrivall thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the land next adjoyning, and to take possession of the same, in right of the Queenes most excellent Majestie."

The explorers had coasted northward two days along the banks, and entering at New inlet or Trinity harbor, had anchored not far from Roanoke island. "We viewed the land about us, being, whereas we first landed, very sandie and low towards the water side, but so full of grapes, as the very beating and surge of the sea overflowed them of which we found such plentie, both on the sand and on the greene soile on the hils, as well on every little shrubbe, as also climbing towardes the tops of high Cedars, that I thinke in all the world the like abundance is not to be found." This is evidently the luxuriant North Carolina Scuppernong grape, whose strong aromatic perfume might well be perceived at some distance from the shore. Barlowe then describes the character of the coast, its fauna and flora, and his intercourse with the natives. "There came into us divers boates, and in one of them the king's brother, with fortie or fiftie men, very handsome and goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly and civill as any in Europe. . . . The soile is the most plentifull, sweete, fruitfull

The arriual of the Englishemen in Virginia.

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and wholsome of all the worlde: there were above fourteene severall sweete-smelling timber trees, and the most part of their underwoods are Bayes and such like. . . . Wee came to an Island which they call Roanok, distant from the harbour by which we entered seven leagues: and at the north end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of Cedar, and fortified round about with sharpe trees, to keepe out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a Turne pike very artificially. . . . The wife of the king's brother came running out to meete us very cheerfully and friendly. When we were come into the utter roome, having five roomes in her house, she caused us to sit downe by a great fire, and after tooke off our clothes and washed them, and dryed them againe: some of the women plucked off our stockings and washed them, some washed our feete in warme water, shee herselfe making greate haste to dress some meate for us to eate. . . . We were entertained with all love and kindnesse, and with as much bountie as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving and faithfull, voide of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age."

These first explorers remained in our waters only two months, reaching England again "about the middest of September," bringing with them two of the natives, Wanchese and Manteo. Their arrival excited the greatest interest. Raleigh named the new country Virginia in honor of the queen and our whole Atlantic coast was now regarded as under the dominion of France, England and Spain, the three districts of indefinite boundaries being known as Canada, Virginia and Florida.

This voyage of Amadas was merely one of exploration; but in 1585, Raleigh fitted out a second expedition of seven sail and one hundred and eight men, under command of his cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, to plant a colony in the paradise described by Barlowe. Grenville is another of the brilliant heroes of this period, and it is interesting to note the number of remarkable men who were connected with these American voyages. Gilbert, Raleigh, Grenville, Lane, Hariot, White, form as striking a group of adventurous spirits as can be gathered together in history.

Full accounts of the experiences of the colonists are given both by Lane and Hariot. "The 9 day of April 1585 we departed from Plymouth, our Fleete consisting of the number of seven sailes, to wit the Tyger, of the burden of seven score tunnes, a Flieboat called the Roe-bucke, of the like burden, the Lyan of a hundred tunnes, the Elizabeth, of fifty tunnes, and the Dorothie, a small barke: wherunto were also adjoyned for speedy services, two small pinnesses. . . . The 12 day of May wee came to an anker off the island of St. John de Porto Rico. . . . The 24 day we set saile from St. Johns, being many of us stung upon shoare with the Muskitos. . . . The 20 of June we fell in with the maine of Florida. The 23 we were in great danger of wracke on a beach called the Cape of Feare, [the Promontorium tremendum of the old maps.] The 26 we came to anker at Wocokon [Ocracoke]. July 3 we sent word of our arriving at Wocokon to

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Wingina [the Indian chief] at Roanoak. The 16 one of the savages having stollen from us a silver cup, we burnt and spoyled their corne and towne, all the people being fled. . . . The 27 our Fleete ankered at Haterask, and there we rested. The 25 August our Generall weyed anker and set saile for England."

Grenville thus remained two months on the Carolina coast, and then, putting the colony under the government of Ralph Lane, returned home to take command of one of the "sea dogs" which were now making the whole Atlantic unsafe for Spain. His death in 1591 off the Azores, where also Gilbert had perished, is one of the most glorious events in British navals annals. The English quadron consisted of but seven sail; the Spanish fleet numbered fifty-five. Engaged all night at close quarters with many of the largest Spanish galleons, at daylight Grenville found his little ship, the Revenge, literally shot to pieces, and not a man on board unhurt. Desperately wounded, he still refused to strike his flag; and when forced by his crew to surrender the sinking hull, he was taken on board the Spanish Admiral to utter the memorable last words: "Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind; for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, fighting for his country, queen, religion, and honor."

On September 3, 1585, Governor Lane wrote to Richard Hakluyt from "the New Fort in Virginia," which he had built at the northern end of Roanoke island, on the site of the fortified Indian village found there by Amadas: "Since Sir Richard Grenville's departure, we have discovered the maine to be the goodliest soyle under the cope of heaven, so abounding with sweete trees, and grapes of such greatnesse, yet wilde. . . . And now we have found here Maiz or Guinie wheat, whose eare yeeldeth corne for bread 400 upon one eare. . . . It is the goodliest and most pleasing teritorie of the world: for the continent is of an huge and unknowen greatnesse, and the climate is wholesome. . . . If Virginia had but horses and kine, I dare assure myselfe, being inhabited with English, *no realme in Christendome were comparable to it.*"

He then describes the whole neighboring country, and determines to change the site of the colony to a better port for "the harborough of Roanoak was very naught;" but the hostility of some of the Indian tribes rendered all his efforts futile. Conspiracies were formed against the English, and their situation grew so precarious, that many turned a longing eye homeward. On June 10, 1586, Sir Francis Drake anchored off the coast with a fleet of twenty-three sail, and furnished Lane with a "very proper barke of seventy tun, and tooke present order for bringing of victual aboord her for 100 men for four moneths." But on the 13th, there arose a great storm which drove her to sea, with many of the chief colonists on board, and she did not return. Despairing of any remedy for this disaster, and unable to pass another winter without succor from home, Lane determined to abandon the colony. The men were bestowed among Drake's fleet, and arrived at Portsmouth on the 27th of July.

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"Immediately after the departing of our English colony out of this paradise of the world, the ship sent at the charges of Sir Walter Raleigh, fraighted with all maner of things in most plentifull maner, arrived at Hatorask; who after some time spent in seeking out Colony up in the countrey, and not finding them, returned with all the aforesayd provision into England. About foureteene days after the departure of the aforesayd shippe, Sir Richard Grenville Generall of Virginia arrived there; who not hearing any newes of the Colony, and finding the places which they inhabited desolate, yet unwilling to lose the possession of the countrey, determined to leave some men behind to reteine it: whereupon he landed fifteene men in the Isle of Roanoak, furnished plentifully with all maner of provisions for two yeeres."

Besides Lane's account of his explorations in the waters of North Carolina, of his relations with the Indians, and of the various adventures and vicissitudes of the first colony, we have a "Briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia" by Thomas Hariot, "a man no lesse for his honesty than learning commendable," the scholar of the expedition, and the inventor of the algebraic system of notation, described in the epitaph as:

Doctissimus ille Harriotus,
Qui omnes scientias coluit,
Qui in omnibus excelluit.
Mathematicis, phillosophicis, theologicis,
Veritatis indagator studiosessimus.

His report, addressed to "the Adventurers, Favourers, and Welwillers of the enterprise for the inhabiting and planting in Virginia," is a very full and interesting account of the varied products of the new country, and of the manners and customs of the natives. "There is a kind of grasse in the country, upon the blades whereof there groweth very good silke. . . . There are two kindes of grapes that the soile doth yeeld, the one small and sowre, of the ordinary bignesse, the other farre greater and of himselfe lushious sweet [the Scuppernong]. . . . A kinde of graine called by the inhabitants Pagatowe [Indian corn], about the bignesse of English peaze; but of divers colours; white, red, yellow, and blew. All yeeld a very white and sweete flowre. . . . There is an herbe called by the inhabitants Uppowoe; the Spanyards call it Tobacco. The leaves thereof being brought into pouder, they used to take the smoake thereof, by sucking it thorow pipes made of clay, into their stomacke and heade; from whence it purgeth superfluous fleam and other grosse humours; whereby their bodies are notably preserved in health, and know not many grievous diseases, wherewithall we in England are afflicted. They thinke their gods are marvellously delighted therewith: whereupon they make hallowed fires, and cast some of the pouder therein for sacrifice: being in a storm, to pacifie their gods, they cast some into the waters: also after an escape from danger, they cast some into the aire. . . . We our selves used to sucke it after their maner, and have found many wonderfull experiments of the vertues thereof: the use of it by so many of late, men and women of great calling, is sufficient witnesse. . . . Openauk are a kinde of roots

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of round forme [the potato] found in moist and marish grounds: being boiled or sodden, they are a very good meat. . . . The naturall inhabitants are a people clothed with loose mantles made of deere skinnes, and aprons of the same round about their middle, all els naked. . . . For mankinde they say a woman was made first, which by the working of one of the gods, conceived and brought foorth children; and in such sort they had their beginning. . . . Some of the people could not tell whether to thinke us gods or men, the rather because there was no man of ours knowen to die, or that was specially sicke: they noted also that we had no women among us. Some therefore were of opinion that we were not borne of women, and therefore not mortal, but that we were men of an old generation many yeeres past, then risen againe to immortalitie. Some would likewise prophecie that there were more of our generation *yet to come to kill theirs and take their places.*"

In no wise discouraged by the failure of this costly experiment at colonization, Raleigh fitted out another expedition of three vessels in the following year, under command of John White, to whom we are indebted for the story of this second colony. For the first time the expedition had an element of permanence, by including among the emigrants, women and children. The intention was to make a settlement on the shores of the Chesapeake, but through the treachery of a pilot, Roanoke island again became the home of the colonists.

"In the yeere of our Lord 1587, Sir Walter Ralegh intending to persevere in the planting of his Countrey of Virginia, prepared a newe Colonie of one hundred and fifty men to be sent thither, under the charge of John White whom hee appointed Governour, and also appointed unto him twelve Assistants, unto whom he gave a charter, and incorporated them by the name of Governour and Assistants of the Citie of Ralegh in Virginia. Our Fleete being in number three saile, the Admirall a shippe of one hundred and twenty Tunnes, a Flieboate, and a Pinnesse, departed the 26 of April from Portsmouth. . . . About the 16 of July we fel with the maine of Virginia, and bare along the coast, where in the night, had not Captaine Stafford bene carefull, we had bene all castaway upon the breach, called the Cape of Feare. The 22 of July wee arrived at Haterask: the Governour went aboard the pinnesse, with fortie of his best men, intending to passe up to Roanok foorthwith, hoping there to finde those fiftene men, which Sir Richard Grenville had left there the yeere before. . . . The same night at sunne-set he went aland, and the next day walked to the North ende of the Island, where Master Ralfe Lane had his forte, with sundry dwellings, made by his men about it the yeere before, where we hoped to find some signes of our fifteene men. We found the forte rased downe, but all the houses standing unhurt, saving that the neather roomes of them, and also of the forte, were overgrowen with Melons, and Deere within them feeding: so wee returned to our company, without hope of ever seeing any of the fifteene men living. The same

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day order was given for the repayring of those houses, and also to make other new Cottages."

The settlers, numbering ninety-one men, seventeen women, and nine children, set to work to rebuild the fort, and to make for themselves an English home. Soon after their arrival two incidents of extreme importance occurred in the life of the colony.

"The 13 of August our Savage Manteo was christened in Roanoak, and called Lord thereof and of Dasamauguepeuk, in reward of his faithfull service. The 18, Elenor, daughter to the Governour, and wife to Ananias Dare, one of the Assistants, was delivered of a daughter in Roanoak, and the same was christened there the Sonday following, and because this child was the first Christian borne in Virginia, shee was named Virginia."

The baptism of Manteo, and of the first Anglo-American child are the beginnings of the life of the English church in a new world. The name Dare has been given to a county of North Carolina on Pamlico sound, and its county-seat is the village of Manteo on Roanoke island; a happy and permanent association of these Indian and English names with the locality where they were first brought into interesting conjunction.

"The 22 of August the whole company came to the Governour, and with one voice requested him to return himselfe to England, for the obtaining of supplies and other necessaries for them; but he refused it, and alleaged many sufficient causes why he would not. . . . At the last, through their extreame intreating constrayned to return, he departed from Roanoak the 27 of August." The next day he set sail, destined never again to see his daughter and grandchild, and after a terrible voyage reached the coast of Ireland on the 16th of October.

This is the last that is known of the lost colony, whose fate has given rise to so much interesting speculation, and whose blood it is thought may be traced to-day in the Croatan or Hatteras Indians of North Carolina. It was three years before succor came from the old world, for England in the meantime had needed every ship and every sailor in her life-and-death struggle with Spain and the invincible Armada. Efforts were made to reach the colony, but they were unsuccessful, and not until the summer of 1590 did Governor White arrive off the North Carolina coast.

"The 20 of March the three shippes, the Hopewell, the John Evangelist, and the little John, put to sea from Plymmouth. . . . The 23 of July we had sight of the Cape of Florida, and the broken Ilands thereof. . . The 15 of August we came to an anchor at Hatorask, and saw a great smoke rise in the Ile Roanoak neere the place where I left our colony in the yeere 1587. . . . The next morning our two boates went ashore, and we saw another great smoke; but when we came to it, we found no man nor signe that any had bene there lately. . . . The 17 of August our boates were prepared againe to goe up to Roanoak. . . . Toward the North ende of the Island we espied the light of a great fire thorow the woods: when we came right over against it, we sounded with a trumpet a Call, and afterwardes many familiar English tunes and Songs, and called to them friendly; but we had no an-

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swere; we therefore landed, and comming to the fire, we found the grasse and sundry rotten trees burning about the place. . . . As we entered up the sandy banke, upon a tree, in the very browe thereof were curiously carved these faire Romane letters, C R O: which letters we knew to signifie the place where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed upon betweene them and me, at my last departure from them, which was that they should not faile to write or carve on the trees or posts of the dores the name of the place where they should be seated: and if they should be distressed, that then they should carve over the letters a Crosse + in this forme, but we found no such sign of distresse. . . . We found the houses taken downe, and the place strongly enclosed with a high palisado, of great trees, with cortynes and flankars very Fortlike, and one of the chief trees at the right side of the entrance had the barke taken off, and five foote from the ground in fayre Capitall letter was graven CROATOAN, without any crosse or signe of distresse." . . . No further trace was found of the colonists, except buried chests which had been dug up and rifled by the Indians, "bookes torne from the covers, the frames of pictures and Mappes rotten and spoyled with rayne, and armour almost eaten through with rust. . . . The season was so unfit, and weather so foule, that we were constrayned of force to forsake that coast, having not seene any of our planters, with losse of one of our shipboates, and seven of our chiefest men. . . . The 24 of October we came in safetie, God be thanked, to an anker at Plymmouth. . . . Thus committing the reliefe of my dicomfortable company, the planters in Virginia, to the merciful help of the Almighty, whom I most humbly beseech to helpe and comfort them, according to his most holy will and their good desire, I take my leave."

This ended in disaster all of Raleigh's great schemes for planting the English race on our shores. They had cost him £40,000, and the result was apparent failure; yet his greatest glory is these attempts at colonization. The seed was sown which was eventually to yield the richest harvest; the direct fruit of these efforts was the colony of Jamestown, and Raleigh is the real pioneer of American civilization. It was he, and not King James, who was destined to "make new nations,"[1] and to whom rightly belongs the title of *imperis Atlantici conditor*.

For more than half a century the name of the first settlement, the so-called "City of Ralegh" disappears from our annals; until in 1654 a company of explorers from Virginia reached Roanoke, and saw what they termed the "ruins of Sir Walter Ralegh's fort." The lapse of time has probably altered its appearance but little from what it then was, except for the changes wrought by a luxuriant vegetation. Its present condition is described in *Harper's Magazine* for May, 1860: "The trench is clearly traceable in a square about forty yards each way. Midway of one side another trench, perhaps flanking the gateway, runs inward fifteen or twenty feet. On the right of the same face of the enclosure, the corner is appar-

[1] King Henry VIII., Act V., Sc. 4, 53.

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ently thrown out in the form of a small bastion. The ditch is generally two feet deep, though in many places scarcely perceptible. The whole site is overgrown with pine, live-oak, vines, and a variety of other plants. A flourishing tree, draped with vines, stands sentinel near the centre. A fragment or two of stone or brick may be discovered in the grass, and then all is told by the existing relics of the city of Raleigh."

Surely, these interesting historic remains should be saved from further decay, and kept intact for all time to come.[1] No spot in the country should be dearer or more sacred to us than that which was marked by the first footprints of the English race in America. In this year of the great exhibition at Chicago, and in these days of enthusiasm about Columbus and his explorations, it is especially important not to lose sight of the fact that he did not discover the continent of North America, and that the United States owe nothing to Spanish civilization. That influence was to mould the destiny of the peoples who gathered in the new world south of the Gulf of Mexico; but Cabot with his English explorers was the first to set foot on our Atlantic coast, and it is to English enterprise, English moral standards, English political ideas, and English civil and religious liberty, that we owe the manifold blessings we now enjoy, and to which we must gratefully ascribe the marvelous progress and prosperity of our beloved country.

EDWARD GRAHAM DAVES.

[1] A plan has been formed to purchase and preserve the ruins of this fort.

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ORIGINAL DOCUMENT

PEN-DRAWINGS BY A TRAVELLER IN 1797.

IN July, 1797, the United States of America had tried the experiment of Federal Union for eight years, and the first man to whom the ship of State had been entrusted in this trying period had laid aside his office, and was again a private citizen and prosperous farmer. It had astonished the world that he should have returned to this humble condition after the Revolutionary war had been carried to a successful issue by him. It was, however, a matter deserving of even greater admiration now, for Washington's retirement from the Presidency was his own voluntary act. At the close of the war there was nothing for him to be commander-in-chief of or for: but the Presidency was yet open and he might have filled the office once more if he had willed.

Now John Adams had been President for more than four months; the Federal Union was safe, but a change was coming in the leadership of affairs, or the principles of the administration of them; the Constitution was strongly enough rooted to endure the counteraction of its somewhat aristocratic interpretations. Inevitably the commotions of the impending change had already become apparent, and one powerful shadow of coming events was that Jefferson was Vice-President. Then there were the agitations growing out of sympathy with events in France, soon to take shape in actual declaration of war, though fortunately not in the actual waging of it. The country had recovered from the paralyzing loss of credit induced by the unsettled condition of things under the Confederation from 1783 to 1789. Prosperity and progress were beginning to have their hopeful indications, although the wildest imagination was not equal to the task of prophesying what these would bring about in less than half a century.

It was at this time—in the very infancy of our Republic, having indeed learned to stand upon its feet and to walk with some firmness, but feeling nothing yet of the giant's strength—that a young gentleman of Baltimore, twenty-three years of age, possessed of wealth, well-educated, intelligent, and fond of travel, set out upon a journey from his native city, intending to visit Philadelphia, New York, and New England. He had for a companion a young Englishman; and his father, a merchant and man of note in Baltimore, who had formed the personal acquaintance of many prominent persons throughout the country, furnished him with letters which

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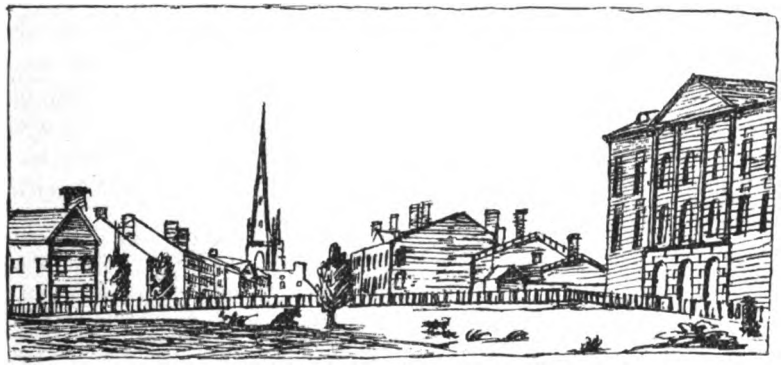
proved an unfailing "open, *Sesame*," to the best of society in every city through which he passed. This young gentleman was Robert Gilmor, afterwards the friend of Jared Sparks, whom he aided in his researches as he was himself a noted collector of autographs and manuscripts. He died in 1848.

Mr. Gilmor kept an itinerary while he journeyed, or wrote it up after he had completed his tour. He calls it his "Memorandums," which seems to betray some defect in his Latinity. But he used the English well enough to give us a valuable though all too brief glimpse of life in those early days of liberty, while, besides, he had some skill with his pencil or pen as draughtsman, so that the eye as well as the imagination may look upon a few things as they then were. The original Manuscript of the "Memorandums" is preserved in the Boston Public Library, and the notes were published in their quarterly Bulletin of April 1892. At the same time facsimiles were made of the original pen-drawings, some of which we have been permitted to reproduce in the present number. The pen-drawings will speak for themselves, and we shall use liberal extracts from Mr. Gilmor's itinerary, in briefly recounting some of his principal experiences in the cities of Philadelphia, New York, Newport, Boston and Salem. Of Philadelphia and New York he speaks in two different parts of his "Memorandums," as he passed through these cities a second time on his return from New England. It will suffice for our purpose, however, to omit that distinction between the visits, and to treat each of the several cities by itself. On July 24, 1797, he left Baltimore.



BROADWAY (NEW YORK) FROM THE BATTERY.

"At Philadelphia," says our traveller, "I was not a stranger; I had visited it with my father in the spring of 1793, and last winter (February, 1797) went up expressly in company with Mr. Strutt to be present at the last birthday and ball of our esteemed President Washington." The first gentleman he called upon was no less a person than the Viscount de Noailles. Writing for people of his own day (undoubtedly only for those of his own family) he does not think it necessary to explain who Viscount de Noailles was. He was at this time a member of the banking house of which

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William Bingham was the head, and hence Mr. Gilmor's father's letters were no doubt the tokens of an intimate business relationship. At any rate the young traveller was received like a son at the home of the Binghams, where a splendid hospitality was constantly dispensed, Mr. Bingham being reputed the richest man in Pennsylvania, and Mrs. Bingham one of the most beautiful women in the country. To return to the Viscount: he was the brother-in-law of Lafayette, having married a sister of the Marchioness, whose maiden name it will be remembered was also de Noailles, the Viscount's wife being his cousin by some removes, sufficient to warrant their marriage in a Catholic country. He served under Lafayette during the Revolutionary War, and concluded the capitulation at Yorktown. In his own country he was one of two enthusiastic nobles who proposed the abolition of titles and privileges in the Assembly. He could not sympathize, however, with the drift of affairs which were leading to the Reign of Terror and therefore emigrated to America. Mr. Gilmor's references to him are frequent: the first is this: "After breakfast I waited upon the Viscount de Noailles who seemed happy to see me; he conversed with me very kindly and communicated a great deal of information on subjects in which we were mutually interested. In the evening he drove me in his gig out to Lansdown, Mr. Bingham's delightful country residence which he lately purchased from the last of the family of the old proprietor of Pennsylvania, Mr. Penn. It is a most superb place, and supposed to be the best country house in America."

One episode of the stay at Philadelphia is of great interest: "In the morning of the 27th we rode out to breakfast at Mr. Nichlin's and from thence went to Germantown to see Stewart's [Stewart] painting of the late president [Washington]. We should have been disappointed in this had not I taken care to get a letter of introduction to him from General de Noailles, who was intimate with him and for whom Stewart entertained a great respect. . . . The picture he had there of the president was the first copy he had made

LANSDOWNE—COUNTRY SEAT OF WILLIAM BINGHAM, NEAR PHILADELPHIA.

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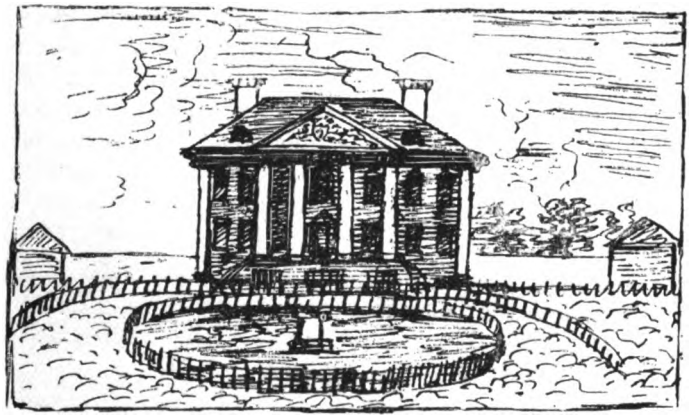
of the celebrated full length which he had painted for Mr. Bingham, intended as a present to the Marquis of Lansdown. It was supposed one of the finest portraits that was ever painted. The copy was for Mr. Bingham's own use and from which Stewart told us he had engaged to finish copies to the amount of 70 or 80,000 Ds at the rate of 600 Ds a copy. This circumstance is an unique [one] in the history of painting, that the portrait of one man should be sought after in such a degree as to be copied by the original artist such a number of times and for such an amount."

On his return visit, we learn something of the dread visitation of the yellow fever, which afflicted Philadelphia once or twice very severely during the last decade of the century, and more or less during every year of it. The Viscount de Noailles had promised to ride out from Philadelphia to Frankfort and bring young Gilmor into the city. "I requested he would not expose me to any danger by taking me into the city, but to go through the outskirts, which was the nearest way. We had hardly turned into the first street when we overtook a coffin, going to the Potter's field: I made a great many wry faces at it, till we had got clear which was scarcely done when we found ourselves within 100 yards of the Potter's field, where they were at that moment engaged in interring a corpse. This alarmed me again and we drove as fast as we could past, entered about the head of Market Street, and crossed the ferry." The young traveller was evidently not of the courageous sort, but he tells of his fears with charming *naivete.*



VIEW OF THE GOVERNORS' HOUSE AT NEW YORK.

It will be rather discouraging to those who lament over the degeneracy of these later days, in the one particular of Sunday travel, that in the good old days people seemed to make just as little account of using the sacred day for that convenient purpose. "As we had taken our seats for the stage that was to leave town on Sunday morning for New York we set off about 10 o'clock, and arrived at New York the succeeding day about 4 o'clock P. M. Our ride lay through

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the pleasant little villages of Bristol on the Delaware, Trenton, Princeton, Brunswick, New Ark and Bergen."

Arrived at New York after this pleasant journey of thirty hours (it seems as if they must have stopped overnight at one of these "villages,") the companions put up at the Tontine Coffee House, in Wall Street, near Pearl. It seems a little strange they did not go to the New City Hotel built in 1794, (with its pride of a slate roof, the first one in the country), in Broadway, about where the Boreel Building now towers on high. A number of names familiar to the early history of the metropolis, and identified with its commercial development after the Revolution, appear upon the pages of the "Memorandums." Mr. Low, Mr. Gracie, Mr. Bayard, Mr. Le Roy, Gen. Matthew Clarkson, either entertain the young man, or meet him at the dinner tables of his friends. The Mr. Bayard here meant was doubtless Mr. William Bayard, for he it was who had a country house on the North River, at the foot of Horatio Street, where almost exactly seven years later Hamilton breathed his last. Mr. Gilmor was much impressed with New York: "The buildings in this city are very superb. The house appropriated by the governor is a handsome edifice, fronting on Broadway (the principal street), and on the Southern and Western side there is a fine view of the Battery, the North River, the Narrows (where the ships enter from the sea), and a number of islands lying at the mouths of the East and North Rivers. . . . We visited the different principal places in the city and in the evening walked on the Battery, the grand public promenade of the ladies. The evening being cloudy and misty, not much company appeared, and we were disappointed in seeing many of the beauties with which this place abounds." As the tourist went about the city and its vicinity his pencil was as busy as his pen, and many of the original drawings present contemporary views of the appearance of the town. Not satisfied with views from the surface of the streets, he mounted at one time the steeple of Christ Church in Ann Street, and drew a picture of the prospect from that vantage point, including the far-off Narrows.

NEWPORT, IN RHODE ISLAND—TAKEN FROM HILL 2 MILES BACK OF THE TOWN.

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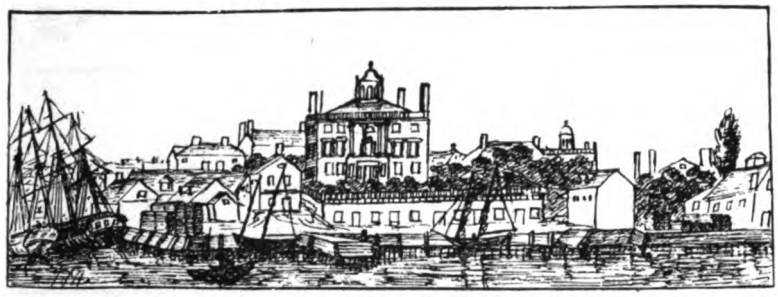
On his return visit we find an entry among his memoranda which gives us a curious insight into the social amenities of the day :

I waited on a number of friends and met with others, among the rest Mr. and Miss Wheeler from Norfolk. I was invited to dine with them at Mr. Gracie's, but being engaged to Mr. Moses I was obliged to decline the invitation. However, I went there in the evening and accompanied Miss W. to the theatre, where we met with two Charleston ladies, the Miss Gibbs, to whom Miss W. presented me. Observing Miss Fleming and Mr. Low [her stepfather] in the stage box, I begged permission from Miss W. to go and speak to them, but they were so agreeable that after spending some time with them I was returning when I observed that Miss W. and the other ladies had left the house being tired with the performance. This circumstance distressed me a good deal and I resolved to wait on her the next morning and endeavor to make my peace. Accordingly I went with a face pretty much adapted to such an errand, and fortunately instead of my standing in need of pardon, she began to excuse her leaving the theatre before I returned.

Just now they are arranging a train service which shall carry passengers from New York to Boston in exactly five hours. Mr. Gilmor in 1797, went about securing a passage to Boston in a way that indicated that the journey was a much more formidable one to him. He fixed on Saturday for the departure, we suspect with a shrewd eye to having some of of the comparatively useless time of travel fall upon the *dies non* as regards business or social matters. At three o'clock P. M. he sailed from New York, and at 1 A. M. Monday reached Newport. It seemed to have already attracted people from distant cities (even Baltimore) as a health resort in the summer. The grandeur of the ocean was deeply appreciated by our traveller.



MR. DERBY'S HOUSE AT SALEM.

The next day we hired a chaise and rode over the Beaches and the surf broke very handsomely and we stopped to look at the grandeur of the scene. A fog had risen while we were riding so that at first we could not extend our prospect over the country nor sea, but while we were gazing at the white foam the fog dissipated very rapidly and by degrees the waves began to appear at a distance and here and there on the distant surface of the ocean a sail was moving which as the sun shone upon it, reflected a beautiful appearance. From the Beaches we took a circuit around and came into New Port on the other side of the island.

Boston was reached by stage after a stay at Providence of half a day.

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The young traveller was delighted with almost everything he saw. The town was handsome on account of the generally well-built and a few "superb" houses, but the streets were "narrow, wretchedly paved, and no side way of brick for foot passengers: my feet were quite sore with travers-

MALL AT BOSTON—FROM THE STATE HOUSE.

ing the round stones." The beauty of the ladies was phenomenal, "hardly one lady we saw could be called ugly." One day after dinner the friends "walked down to the Frigate." Now shall we be much amiss if we conjecture that this was none other than the famous "Constitution," or "Old Ironsides"? It was in 1798 than she was launched at Boston, and she must therefore have been in course of construction at the time of Mr. Gilmor's visit. It is somewhat amusing, in view of the fact what glory was to be won for the American navy by this ship, to notice that probably from a feeling of town-pride on the part of the young tourist, he records in his diary: "we considered the one at Baltimore to be much better finished."

Many visits were made to towns and villages in the immediate vicinity. Cambridge, of course, was one of these: Cambridge, he tells us, "is divided from Boston by a long causeway and bridge of 1½ miles in length which it is extremely tiresome to cross from its length. At night it is lighted up by about 80 lamps and looks very brilliant from the Mall." One excursion was made to Salem: "On Thursday afternoon Mr. Hay (a fellow boarder) and I took our seats in the Salem stage and at dark arrived at Salem. We had time to visit several places in in this town, particularly the wharves, where we saw a number of fine vessels. This place carries on an extensive commerce and had lately sent out more East India men than all the rest of the United States together. The principal merchant here, Mr. Derby, has just built a most superb house, more like a palace than the dwelling of an American merchant." The Puritan capital had long since fallen a prey to worldly amusements. There were two theatres both "much larger and handsomer than those of Philadelphia." Mr. Gilmor was present at some of the performances, when "the house was tolerably full." While he was at Boston he attended

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a public dinner given by the citizens to President Adams.

In the morning the different companies of the place paraded on the Mall and marched to the neck to receive the President, who was escorted by a troop of horse from his seat at Braintree (a few miles from town). At 9 o'clock he got to Roxborough where he breakfasted with the governor of the State, and from whence he was attended by all who chose to go out in carriages or on horseback. About 2 o'clock he got near the Senate House in State Street when he alighted and walked there preceded by several respectable officers and citizens and followed by a number of others. While he was in the balcony of the Senate room, all the companies and citizens who came into town with him passed in review before him. The multitude seemed very much pleased with his appearance and received him with great applause. . . . . About four o'clock we proceeded in procession to Faneuil Hall where the dinner was prepared. About 316 people sat down to dinner this day and were not the least crowded. . . . The company broke up early and went to the theatre, where the President also came. A stage box was fitted up with American flags for his reception, and when he entered it continued peals of applause burst from every quarter of the house. He bowed and smiled.

IN THE SIOUX WAR.

1876.

After that strange wild battle in the west
With demons, Reno's troopers in retreat
Sighted a hill and stayed their horses feet,
And with a rising horror in the breast,—
The terror of a thought that turned them sick,
They saw what seemed white boulders scattered thick,
White rocks that dotted all its slope of grass
Far off: but through a pitiless field-glass
They saw that they were bodies of dead men,
Stripped naked, pallid, motionless, and then
They knew that this was Custer's battlefield.
And on the upland quivering in the sun,
While all the blazing horizon shook and reeled,
They looked with ghastly faces each to each,
With dry throats choked and with no power of speech,
Silent: but *O, how white they look!* shrieked one.

J. RUSSELL TAYLOR.

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The Braddock Campaign.

Washington's own narrative of the eventful Braddock campaign, a curiously interesting as well as authentic document is published for the first time in the exhibition (May) number of Scribner's Magazine. Concerning the history of this manuscript, we learn that from 1780 until the close of the war Colonel David Humphreys was a member of Washington's military staff, and for some years he was an inmate of his household at Mount Vernon and in New York. Colonel Humphreys intended to write the life of Washington and busied himself for many years in collecting material. He applied to Washington for an account of his Indian campaigns and received some ten pages of manuscript of folio size. In 1829, eleven years after the death of Colonel Humphreys, the document was given by Mrs. Humphreys to John Pickering, who bequeathed it to his grandson, Henry G. Pickering. The manuscript bears evidence of very careful revision by Washington. There are frequent interlineations and erasures and the words "I" and "me," in nearly every instance, were changed to the initials "G. W."

In 1753 Washington was commissioned adjutant-general of the northern district of the province of Virginia and proceeded to the Canadian outposts recently established near Lake Erie to demand, in the name of the king of England, the withdrawal of the French from the territory claimed by Virginia. The answer of the commander of the French posts was of such a character as to induce the assembly of Virginia to authorize the executive to raise a regiment of 300 men for the purpose of maintaining the asserted rights of the British crown. Washington declined the command and it was given to Colonel Joshua Fry. On the march to the Ohio, news was received that a party previously sent to build a fort at the confluence of the Monongahela with the Ohio, had been driven back by a considerable French force, which had completed the fort and named it after the Marquis Duquesne, governor of Canada. This was the beginning of the French and Indian war which was destined to continue for seven years. Washington, who had been commissioned a lieutenant-colonel, was sent forward with 150 men to retrieve the loss of the fort, but being unsupported by the promised reinforcements, he was unable to attack. In his narrative Washington says:

The object of his precipitate advance being thus defeated, the detachment of regulars which had arrived at Alexandria by water,

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and under his orders being far in the rear and no account of the troops from North Carolina, it was thought advisable tofall back a few miles, to a place known by the name of the Great Meadows, abounding in forage, more convenient for the purpose of forming a magazine and bringing up the rear, and to advance from (if we should ever be in force to do it) to the attack at the post which the enemy now occupied, and had called Du Quesne. At this place, some days after, we were joined by the above detachment of regulars, consisting (before they were reduced on the march by desertion, sickness, &c.) of a Captain McKay, a brave and worthy officer, three subalterns and 100 rank and file. But previous to this junction the French sent a detachment to reconnoitre our lines and to obtain intelligence of our strength and position; notice of which being given by the scouts, G. W. marched at the head of a party, attacked, killed 9 or 10, and captured 20 odd. This, as soon as the enemy had assembled their Indian allies, brought their whole force upon him, consisting, according to their own, compared with the best acct. that could be obtained from others, of about 1500 men. His force consisted of the detachment above mentioned, also between two & 300 Virginians; for the few Indians which till now had attended him, and who by reconnoitering the enemy in their march had got terrified at their numbers and resolved to retreat, as they advised us to do also, but which was impracticable without abandoning our stores, baggage, &c., as the horses which had brought them to this place, and returned for provisions, had left us previous to the attack. About 9 o'clock on the 3rd of July the enemy advanced with shouts and dismal Indian yells to our entrenchments, but was opposed by so warm, spirited, and constant a fire, that to force the works in that way was abandoned by them. They then, from every little rising, tree, stump, stone, and bush kept up a constant galding fire upon us; which was returned in the best manner we could till late in the afternoon when their fell the most tremendous rain that can be conceived, filled our trenches with water, wet, not only the ammunition in the cartoosh boxes and fire locks, but that which was in a small temporary stockade in the middle of the entrenchment called Fort Necessity, erected for the sole purpose of its security, and that of the few stores we had; and left us with nothing but a few (for all were not provided with them) bayonets for defense. In this situation and no prospect of bettering it, terms of capitulation were offered to us by the French which with some alterations that were insisted upon were the more readily acceded to, as we had no salt provisions, and but indifferently supplied with fresh, which from the heat of the weather would not keep; and because a full third of our numbers, officers as well as privates were, by this time, killed or wounded. The next morning we marched out with the honors of war, but were soon plundered, contrary to the articles of capitulation, of great part of our baggage by the Savages.

This is an extremely interesting account of one of the earliest military expeditions.

Washington passed the winter in Virginia preparing for a spring campaign. Then Sir John St. Clair, quartermaster general, arrived "with some new arrangement of rank by which no officer who did not *immediately* derive his comn. from the *King* could command one *who did.*" Washington continues:

This was too degrading for G. W. to submit to; accordingly, he resigned his military employment; determining to serve the next campaign as a volunteer; but upon the arrival of Genl. Braddock he was very particularly noticed by that General, taken into his family as an extra Aid, offered a Captain's commission by *brevet* (which was the highest grade he had it in his power to bestow) and had the compliment of several blank Ensigncies given him to dispose of to the young Gentlemen of his acqe. to supply the vacancies in the 44 and 48 Regts. which had arrived from Ireland.

In this capacity Washington commenced his second campaign, in which he greatly distinguished himself. The French were attacked and during the fighting that followed many of the

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English and Colonial officers were killed or wounded. The attacking party had the worst of it and were compelled to retreat. The following is an extract from Washington's account of this movement:

The shocking scenes which presented themselves in this night's march are not to be described—the dead—the dying—the groans—lamentations and cries along the road of the wounded for help (for those under the latter descriptions endeavored from the first commencement of the action or rather confusion to escape to ye second division) were enough to pierce a heart of adamant. The gloom and horror of which was not a little increased by the impervious darkness occasioned by the close shade of thick woods which in places rendered it impossible for the two guides which attended to know when they were in or out of the track, but by groping on the ground with their hands. Happy was it for him and the remains of the first division that they left such a quantity of valuable and enticing baggage on the field as to occasion a scramble and contention in the seizure and distribution of it among the enemy; for had a pursuit taken place, by passing the defile which we had avoided, and they had got into our rear, the whole, except a few woodsmen would have fallen victims to the merciless savages.

Among those who were killed was General Braddock. Washington says.: "G.W. placed the Genl. in a small covered Cart, which carried some of his most essential equipage. . . . He was interred with the honors of war, and it was left to G. W. to see this performed, and to mark out the spot for the reception of his remains." To guard against a savage triumph should the place be discovered, the grave was dug in the road, and the wagons passing over it all traces were hidden. "Thus died a man," says Washington, "whose good and bad qualities were intimately blended. He was brave even to a fault and in regular service would have done honor to his profession. His attachments were warm—his enmities were strong—and having no disguise about him, both appeared in full force. He was generous and disinterested—but plain and blunt in his manner even to rudeness."

In 1758 an expedition against Fort Duquesne was undertaken under the conduct of General Forbes. There were three brigades, the one under command of Washington being the leading one. Previous to this, says Washington, "and during the time the army lay at Loyalhanning, a circumstance occurred which involved the life of G. W. in as much jeopardy as it had ever been before or since." Mr. Pickering says that this story is "of original historical interest, as being heretofore unknown, even to the student." These are the words of Washington:

The enemy sent out a large detachment to reconnoitre our camp, and to ascertain our strength; in consequence of intelligence that they were within two miles of the camp a party commanded by Lieut. Colo. Mercer of the Virginia Line (a gallant and good officer) was sent to dislodge them, between whom a severe conflict and hot firing ensued, which lasting some time and appearing to approach the camp, it was conceived that our party was yielding the ground, upon which G. W, with permission of the Genl. called (per dispatch) for volunteers and immediately marched at their head, to sustain, as was conjectured, the retireing troops. Led on by the firing till he came within less than half a mile, and it ceasing, he detached scouts to investigate the cause, and to communicate his approach to his friend Colo. Mercer, advancing slowly in the meantime. But it being near dusk, and the intelligence not having been fully disseminated among Colo. Mercer's corps, and they taking us for the enemy who

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had retreated approaching in another direction, commenced a heavy fire upon the relieving party which drew fire in return in spite of all the exertions of the officers, one of whom, and several privates were killed and many wounded before a stop could be put to it, to accomplish which G. W. never was in more imminent danger, by being between two fires, knocking up with his sword the presented pieces.

When the army under General Forbes got within twelve or fifteen miles of Fort Duquesne, the enemy despairing of its defense, blew it up, having first embarked their artillery, stores, and troops, and retreated down the Ohio, to their settlements below. Washington says: "Thus ended that campaign, a little before Christmas, in very inclement weather; and the last one made during that war by G. W. whose health by this time (as it had been declining for many months before, occasioned by an inveterate disorder in his bowels) became so precarious as to induce him (having seen quiet restored by this event to the frontiers of his own country, which was the principal inducement to his taking arms) to resign his military appointments. The solicitation of the troops which he commanded to continue—their affectionate farewell address to him when he found the situation of his health and other circumstances would not allow it, affected him exceedingly, and in grateful sensibility he expressed the warmtl of his attachment to them on that, and his inclination to serve them on every other future occasion."

* * *

The Escape of the Constitution.

The escape of the Constitution is one of the most thrilling incidents in the history of the American navy. It deserves particular emphasis because, by reason of the more distinctive and brilliant glory derived from the victory of the Constitution over the Guerriere a month later, the merit and the profound interest and importance of her escape from a British squadron have been somewhat obscured. By a law passed in 1794, which received Washington's signature, the Constitution was constructed as one of six first-class frigates at a cost of nearly three hundred thousand dollars, and was launched at Boston, October 21, 1797. In the quaint and stilted style of the early American newspaper, the *Boston Commercial Gazette* of Monday, October 23, 1797, described the event as follows:

THE LAUNCH—A MAGNIFICENT SPECTACLE.

On Saturday last, at 15 minutes past M., the frigate

CONSTITUTION

was launched into the adjacent element, on which she now rides, an elegant and superb specimen of American naval architecture, combining the unity of wisdom, strength and beauty. The tide being amply full she descended into the bosom of the Ocean, with an ease and dignity, which, while it afforded the most exalted and heartfelt pleasure and satisfaction to the many thousand spectators, was the guarantee of her safety, and the pledge that no occurrence should mar the joyous sensations that every one experienced. On a signal being given on board, her ordnance on shore announced to the neighboring country that the

CONSTITUTION WAS SECURE.

This, then, was the birth of "Old Ironsides," as the vessel came to be called after her famous exploits in the war of 1812. When that war broke out, the Constitution, Captain Isaac Hull, was recalled from the European station and ordered to refit and recruit

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at Annapolis, in the Chesapeake. This was done with great celerity, resulting in a crew many of whom received their first training after arrival on the ship. On July 12, 1812, the Constitution left Annapolis. On July 17, out at sea, her company descried at a great distance several sail toward the north and east, and on July 18 it had become evident that these vessels constituted a squadron of the enemy, of four frigates and one ship-of-the-line. It was of course out of the question for a single vessel to engage such an overwhelming force; the only thing to do was to get away. But just as the chase began the wind failed, whereupon the possibility of escape depended upon fertility in expedients on the part of the Americans. They proved adepts in these. In the first place, as there was no wind some other mode of propulsion must be resorted to. "The Constitution," says Cooper, "hoisted out her boats, and sent them ahead to tow, with a view to keep the ship out of the reach of the enemy's shot." But the enemy soon followed suit, with the advantage of being in a condition to concentrate several boats from other vessels upon the towing of one or two which it was deemed best to engage the American first. Hence there was a decided and perceptible gain on their part. What next to do? Cooper tells the story in his seamanlike manner:

At half-past six [A.M.] Captain Hull sounded in twenty-six fathoms, when finding that the enemy was likely to close, as he was enabled to put the boats of two ships on one, and was also favored by a little more air than the Constitution, all the spare rope that could be found, and which was fit for the purpose, was payed down into the cutters, bent on, and a kedge was run out near half a mile ahead, and let go. At a signal given, the crew clapped on, and walked away with the ship, overrunning and tripping the kedge as she came up with the end of the line. While this was doing, fresh lines and another kedge were carried ahead, and though out of sight of land the frigate glided away from her pursuers before they discovered the manner in which it was done.

Neither in the *Naval History of the United States*, from which the above is cited, nor in his article on "Old Ironsides," in *Putnam's Magazine* (vol. i.), does Cooper tell us who suggested this novel and effective expedient. An account in *Niles' Weekly Register* for August 24, 1833, informs us that "during the most critical period of the chase, when the nearest frigate, the Belvidera, had already commenced firing, and the Guerriere was training her guns for the same purpose, the possibility of kedging the ship was suggested by Lieutenant, now Commodore, Morris, and was eagerly adopted, with the most brilliant success."[1]

But while a "lucky mile" had been gained, the chase was by no means over. Very soon the enemy penetrated the mystery and again followed the example of the Americans. Thus the day wore on, and night came; and another day and night were passed in the same trying and anxious manner. There was no rest for offi-

[1] It is pleasant to notice that Captain Hull did not arrogate to himself all the praise for this fine exploit. *Niles' Weekly Register* for August 8, 1812 (Vol. ii., p. 381), contains the following: "Captain Hull, after escaping from the English squadron with the Constitution, was greeted by the citizens of Boston and made the following entry on the Coffee House Books: 'Captain Hull finding his friends in Boston are correctly informed of his situation when chased by the British squadron off New York, and that they are good enough to give him more credit for having escaped them than he ought to claim, takes the opportunity of requesting them to make a transfer of a part of their good wishes to Lt. Morris and the other brave officers, and the crew.'"

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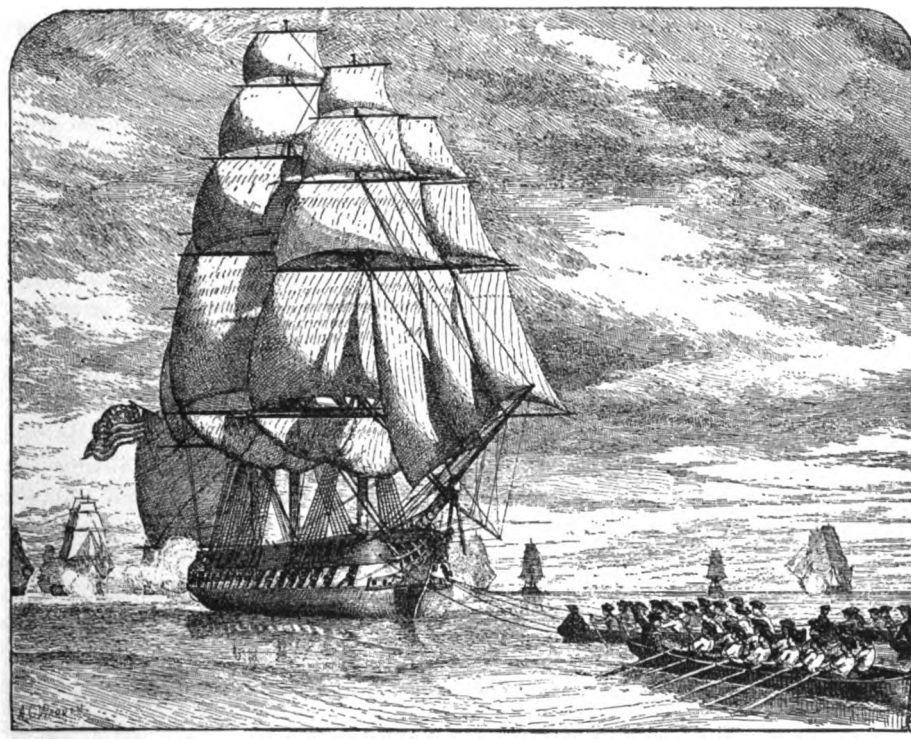
cers or men; but there was also no discouragement. At last the wind, which had so often promised to return and had blown only with tantalizing fitfulness and feebleness, came up in earnest. On the third day—

At meridian the wind began to blow a pleasant breeze, and the sound of the water rippling under the bows of the vessel was again heard. From this moment the noble old ship slowly drew ahead of all her pursuers, the sails being watched and tended in the best manner that consummate seamanship could dictate, until 4 P.M., when the Belvidera was more than four miles astern, and the other vessels were thrown behind in the same proportion, though the wind had again got to be very light. . . . At a little before 7, however, there was every appearance of a heavy squall, accompanied by rain: when the Constitution prepared to meet it with the coolness and discretion she had displayed throughout the whole affair. . . . In a little less than an hour after the squall struck the ship, it had entirely passed to leeward, and a sight was again obtained of the enemy. The Belvidera, the nearest vessel, had altered her bearings in that short period two points more to leeward, and she was a long way astern . . . All apprehensions of the enemy now ceased, though sail was carried to increase the distance.—Cooper's *Naval History*, vol. ii., pp. 46–51.

Thus the Constitution was saved, "secure," in a somewhat different sense from that intended by the *Boston Gazette* of 1797. The importance of the event can hardly be overestimated. Had she been captured then, there would have been no victory over the Guerriere a month later, and it may be doubted, if the first of that series of triumphs had failed, whether those of the United States, the Wasp, the Hornet, and the others would have followed.



ESCAPE OF THE CONSTITUTION.

This picture of the Constitution was copied by the artist from a drawing made from the actual ship.

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THE EVOLUTION OF TYPOGRAPHY.

PRINTING is called an art, which means that it is not so much an invention as a discovery and a growth. The first printing was "block printing." The superlative discovery was the incarnation of the spelling-lesson in uniform interchangeable types. The result of a wonderful evolution—the latest printing—is "block printing" again. True, we call it plate-printing and add such lumbering adjectives as stereotype and electrotype; and yet, as did the Chinese a thousand or more years ago, we print the page or pages from a single rigid block or a series of like blocks.

This can be said, indeed; nevertheless we have not moved in a circle, but on the contrary the modern block-printing in signification and results is quite as far from the ancient as the breadth of the centuries which lie between. The modern method is the issue of an evolution as remarkable as any whose transforming influence has contributed to make our civilization what it is. A multitude of ingenious and laborious men have contributed, some less, some more, to the progress and perfection of the art. Among those whose names must ever be connected with some new application or important improvement, an honorable place belongs to the Bruces of New York City—George Bruce, with his brother and nephew, David and David, Jr. A more particular notice of these men is reserved for the paper which follows, the object of the present one being briefly to trace the development of the art.

To the Chinese is generally conceded the credit for the earliest invention and use of printing. The claim is valid and the priority of the Celestial Empire in the art seems to be fairly well established, if the mere taking of impressions from an engraved plate be accounted an achievement of sufficient importance. The taking of impressions in wax, and upon cloth and vellum as well from engraved seals and other devices, was doubtless practiced in various countries at a very early period. The Chinese went further, and by this method produced books. "There is reason to suppose that mediæval kings and princes (among them William the Conqueror) had their monograms cut on blocks of wood or metal in order to impress them on their charters. Such stamps were used frequently instead of seals. Manuscripts of the twelfth century show initials evidently impressed from a stamp." [Encly. Brittanica.] Still this authority grants that "the art of many impressions from one block" was not known to the ancients generally; but that block-printing and printing from movable types was known early in China and Japan, and in proof gives the following rather flimsy tradition: "It is said that in the year 175 the text of the Chinese classics was cut upon tables, which were erected outside of the university, and that im-

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pressions were taken of them, some of which are said to be still in existence." Printing from wooden blocks is further said to be traced to the early dynasty of the sixth century from which come remains of class books engraved on wood; but not until the tenth century "did books become common."

Another story is that: "In the year 932 two ministers of the Emperor presented a memorial that the 'Nine Classics' should be revised and printed." In about twenty years this was accomplished. "By the end of the thirteenth century most of the literature of former ages had been printed." [American Cyclopedia.]

In Japan block-printing is said to date from about the year 765 when "the Empress Shiyautoku, in pursuance of a vow had a million small wooden toy-pagodas made for distribution among the Buddhist temples and monasteries," each to contain an excerpt from the Buddhist scriptures "printed on a slip of paper about eighteen inches in length and two in width, which was rolled up and deposited in the body of the pagoda under the spire."

We are further informed that the Chinese "printed from movable types of clay in the middle of the eleventh century." The British Museum furnishes an "exhibit as the earliest instance of Corean books printed with movable types, a work printed in 1337." The Coreans are said to have invented copper types in the beginning of the fifteenth century. "An inspection of books bearing dates of that period seems to show that they used such types, even if they did not invent them."

The gist of the matter is just here. If the Chinese invented and put in common use "movable types" in the ordinary sense of that term, then they have the field, and to the Celestials pertains the principal glory of one of the grandest achievements in the course of human progress.

Without presuming to question the reliability of the ponderous authorities quoted, or at all demurring to the traditionary sources of their information, a moment's consideration of some subsidiary facts may cast a different light upon the matter. In the first place, the Chinese have no alphabet. Their written language consists of a system of interminable word-signals. How then is it possible for them to have a system of "movable types" in the sense in which we understand the term? With twenty-six letters or types we produce all the words in the great "Unabridged." With less than one hundred symbols or interchangeable types we represent almost everything in numbers, words, or signs, which we may wish to communicate. The Chinese use a separate character for each word or number. They may have used movable types, but if so, they were word-types, and the economy of their use could only be that involved in the recurrence not of the same letter, but of the same word. This is as nothing beside what we understand as the use of movable types.

Fortunately this view of the case is fully supported by further explanation of the Chinese method given by one of the very authorities above quoted.

"In the original Chinese method, which is still most useful, a written

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sheet of paper is laid face downward on a board of hard wood to the smooth surface of which the ink is transferred, and then all except the inked lines is cut away, as in our own process of wood-engraving, leaving the letters or rather words in relief. Each plate forms a page. In printing from this page the workman applies the ink with a soft brush, then lays the sheet of paper upon the plate, and passes another soft brush over the back, thus giving the impression. Usually one side of the sheet is printed, the other being left blank. Two pages are commonly printed at once. divided by a line down the middle, upon which line they are folded back to back, and fastened together so that the folded edge is in front, the single edges being included in the binding. Books thus prepared, dating as far back as the Sung dynasty (960—1279)are still extant."[1] Again: "Movable types of various kinds have been used in China, and they have of late been introduced to a considerable extent by missionaries; but the immense number of different characters required makes their manipulation very difficult, and the system of block printing described is still the prevailing one."[2] We might safely add: and must so remain until the Chinese adopt an alphabet. Once more speaking of printing in Japan. "Recently an alphabetic syllabary of forty-eight characters has been formed, by the use of which movable types are much more available than in Chinese."[3]

Nothing more is required to show that so far from movable types in any appropriate use of the term having originated in China at some remote point within the musty ages of her traditional history, the fact is clear that at this late day, movable types are practically unknown, in the Celestial Kindom, and it is impossible effectively to introduce them. It is impossible to say what the inventive genius of the Celestial might have accomplished in this direction if not handicapped in his written language by the short cut to avoid spelling, whereby he fell into the interminable tangle of word-signs. It is a misuse of language to carry the idea that the art of printing as we understand and practice it, originated with such a people.

In Europe the manuscript period extended till late in the fourteenth century. Block-printing on various fabrics was known to some extent two hundred years or more before. It was thus employed in Italy, Spain and Sicily. Printing waited for paper, which according to Hallam did not become a staple of commerce till about the close of the fourteenth century. At this time, and so a little before the European invention of movable types, paper books began to be made in Germany, Flanders and Holland by block printing. They were usually printed on one side only of the paper, and sometimes the sheets were pasted together back to back. The most notable "block-book" known is the so-called *Biblia Pauperium*, a small folio of forty leaves, which existed in manuscript form about 1300 A. D., and is supposed to have been engraved and printed, some say as early as 1400, and others 1430. The oldest wood cut in existence is a

[1] Appleton's American Cyclopedia. Article, Printing. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

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picture of St. Christopher in the library of Lord Spencer at Althorp, England, printed in 1423. The first known date of printing from movable types, in the modern and real sense, was the 10th of April, 1454, a letter of Indulgence from Pope Nicholas I. in behalf of the Kingdom of Cyprus, printed at Mainz or Mentz. This marks, as nearly as we can come at it, the time when printing made its appearance at Mainz in an already advanced state of perfection.

It is useless to enter into the controversy as to whom the credit of originality truly belongs. It is claimed for several different persons, among whom Laurens Coster of Haarlem may be mentioned first, of whom a pedigree now in the town library of Haarlem, printed not later than 1520, insists that he "brought the first print into the world" in 1446. The Germans have sustained the claims of Johann Gutenberg of Mentz, while the Dutch assert that he as an assistant of Coster at Haarlem carried away the knowledge there acquired and employed it as his own. Others were Peter Schöffer with his father-in-law and partner, Johann Faust.

At all events the business was carried on with great secrecy about the middle of the fifteenth century at Mentz, till in 1462 that place was besieged by Count Adolphus of Nassau, when the printers were scattered abroad. Within a few years thereafter, the business was introduced in Italy, France and England. In the year 1500 there were about two hundred printing offices in Europe. The first in America were in Mexico (1536) Peru (Lima, 1586), Massachusetts, (Cambridge, 1639), west of the Alleghanies (Cincinnati, 1793), west of the Mississippi (St. Louis, 1808).

If Cadmus invented letters, or the alphabet, he was the greatest inventor that ever lived, and a chief benefactor of the race of man. After an alphabet, printing with movable types is the logical sequence. Given the idea of printing at all and a press is a necessity, while the wonderful development of the machine has kept pace with the increasing demand for its product. After letters, movable types, and the press, the next great advance, as strange as it may sound, is the return, in a new and marvellous way to be sure, but the return to block printing. By the process of stereotyping and electrotyping our admirable and indispensable movable types at just the right moment are transformed, as it were, into solid immovable blocks. Now, for the most part, not the types, but their exact images or "doubles" in solid phalanx rigidly joined shoulder to shoulder, go into the press.

In the first place, where future editions would be required, it was found expedient to let the type stand. But here so great was the danger of disarrangement or complete disaster, Van der Meyer of Antwerp adopted the plan of soldering the types at the bottom. But so the types could not be used for any other work, and they formed a large and costly pile. So William Ged, a goldsmith of Edinburgh, about the year 1731, conceived the plan of casting solid plates from type in a mould. From moulds in plaster of Paris he prepared plates of a Bible for the University of Cambridge. By jealous printers the plates were mutilated, and for many

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years the process was abandoned. It was revived near the beginning of this century with various improvements by Earl Stanhope.

The process was introduced into the United States in 1813 by David Bruce of New York, and the first book produced by it was a New Testament issued by himself and brother in 1814. This stage of the development of typography, with which the Bruces were personally connected, will be treated in another paper. Suffice it to say here upon the general subject, that from plates by improved process prepared from the type in thirty minutes or even half that time, and worked upon the improved press of to-day, our immense daily papers can be thrown off at the rate of thirty-thousand copies per hour from a single machine, automatically pasted, folded, and counted for delivery into the hands of the carrier, which fact marks the grand advance in the evolution of typography since Coster, or Gutenberg or whoever he might be, cut letters from the bark of a tree, and pressed their inked surfaces on paper one by one.

GEORGE BRUCE.

THE Bruces in America were first printers, next stereotypers, and lastly type-founders. Moreover they adorned all these callings. One of them introduced stereotyping in this country, and published the first book produced by the process. Another greatly improved the quality of type, reduced type-founding to a definite system of uniform sizes and gradations as between the different fonts, and did more than any other to so perfect the process that American type enjoys a reputation for superior excellence throughout the civilized world. The third Bruce invented and perfected the only type-casting machine, which has stood the test of experience and is now in general use, thus cheapening and perfecting the manufacture.

George Bruce, at the time of his death (July 5, 1866) the oldest type-founder in America, was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, June 26, 1781. The father of David and George was John Bruce, a native of Wotten, Caithness, in the extreme north of Scotland. When he was but four years of age his mother, a widow, removed to Wick. At this time John could speak only Gaelic, and learned English afterward. In 1764 he married Janet, youngest daughter of William Gilbertson, who had removed to north Scotland from the northern part of England. The Gilbertsons were of gentle blood, and in accord with prevalent social ideas, could only associate upon equal terms in this remote shire with the Sunderlands and Sinclairs. With his wife John Bruce received a considerable fortune in money and cattle. The last they lost by a severe epidemic. They went as far as Edinburgh with the intention of emigrating to America; but were deterred embarking by reports of the troubles and disturb-

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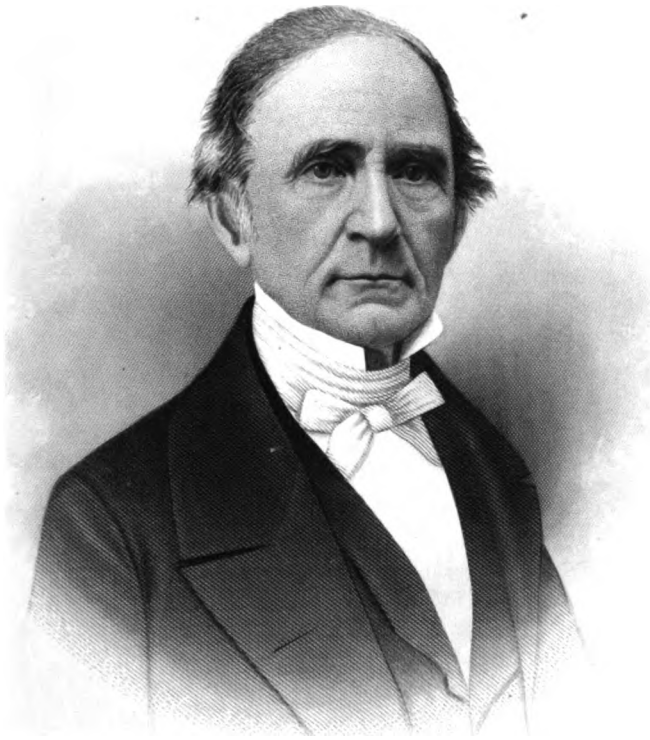

Geo. Bruce

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ances in the Colonies which immediately preceded the American Revolution. In Edinburgh John Bruce was seized with an illness which left him an invalid and prevented his ever visiting the land whose principles he admired. Here also several of his children were born, and his son David, at an early age, came to the United States and established himself as a printer in Philadelphia. Another son, John, was fraudulently enlisted, when but a mere lad; and, fearing the same fate for George, he was sent to join his brother in America.

George took passage at Greenock and made the voyage in eight weeks. At one time the ship was near to being overwhelmed by a procession of six water-spouts in whose line of approach she lay helpless. The captain commended all on board to their prayers and the mercy of God, while in profound silence they awaited the shock. When within a few yards the spouts veered to one side and left the ship in safety. During this voyage George passed his fourteenth birthday. Through the kindness and interest of his brother at Philadelphia he soon had a place with a firm of book-printers and binders, where he became expert in all the details of the business.

Early in 1797 he began to do press work in the office of the *Philadelphia Gazette*, an evening paper with a circulation of about two thousand. The printers issued the paper in the morning, and in the afternoon taking different routes delivered it to their subscribers with their own hands.

During the yellow fever plague of this year, it was young Bruce's daily duty to visit on horseback the sextons of the churches to learn the number of burials for the preceding twenty-four hours, and to obtain from the health office the number of those taken to the Potter's Field, together with the reports of new cases, and all matters pertaining to the subject. He performed the same service for some time during the still more malignant fever pestilence of the following year (1798). At length, however, the brothers determined to leave the plague-stricken city and go to New York. On the way, in New Jersey, George fell ill, and, being refused admittance to any inn, was laid in an empty frame building on a dock. Through this rude but sanitary hospital the pure air had free course, and doubtless did more than medicine toward his recovery.

Finding the epidemic raging as fiercely in New York as in Philadelphia, the brothers proceeded to Albany where they found employment on the *Sentinel* which did the official printing of the State. Returning to New York in the following spring, they engaged upon the *Mercantile Advertiser*. George, now in his eighteenth year, received three-fourths of a journeyman's wages, while the work was very severe. Completing his contract here, he next spent two years with Isaac Collins, James Crane, T. and J. Woods, on books.

About this time the journeyman printers organized the "Franklin Typographical Association," of which young Bruce became secretary. In 1802 he entered the office of the *Daily Advertiser*, and within the year was made foreman. Soon after he took the entire direction and responsibility of issuing the paper, and his name ap-

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pears as printer in the volumes 1803-5.

Near the close of 1805 George Bruce entered into business for himself, undertaking for certain booksellers to reprint *Lavoisier's Chemistry*, and other books imported from England. He formed a partnership with his brother under the firm name of "D. & G. Bruce." With new press and type purchased in Philadelphia, they established themselves in the upper part of a house at the south-west corner of Wall and Pearl Streets, in the very apartment occupied by Rivington as King's printer during the Revolution. Their business prospered to such an extent that in three or four years they had the best equipped printing office in New York, operated nine presses, and were enabled regularly to reprint the *Edinburgh*, *London* and *Quarterly Reviews*, and various other British works.

The years 1812 to 1814 not only mark the period of our second war with Great Britain, but also an epoch in the development of the art of printing. The invention of William Ged, disused and almost forgotten for three-fourths of a century, had been revised by Earl Stanhope and much improved. This process of casting from the type, when set up, solid plates for press-use and for preservation, now so familiarly known as stereotyping, had been kept a profound secret, known only to a Mr. Walker in London, and to the printers of Cambridge and Oxford Universities. In 1812 David Bruce went to England determined to acquire this secret, which he did by purchase; and returning to America in 1814 the Bruce brothers had so far perfected and applied the process that they were enabled to issue the first book printed from stereotype plates upon this side of the water. This was a New Testament, and in the following year they issued the first edition of the entire Bible from plates. It is not to be supposed that this was accomplished without the meeting and overcoming of serious obstacles. The type in use was unfit for stereotyping, and the effort to remedy this defect opened to the brothers the new enterprise of type-founding, which eventually became the most important part of their business. This also led George Bruce to the contriving of important improvements both in type face and body, and at length to the most appropriate and complete system of scaling by "points" which has ever been employed. Thus to his enterprise, ingenuity, perseverance and skill is largely due the fact that American type holds such a deservedly high position of known excellence throughout the world. The printing office had been retained until 1822, when David Bruce retired; but thereafter George confined his energies to developing the art of type manufacture. By the greatest care in improving the methods of "punch-cutting" he produced many different fonts for ordinary use of the most perfect symmetry, while his fancy types and borders were of such variety and excellence as to enable the letterpress printer to rival the productions of the copper-plate presses in superb execution and effect. With his own hands he cut two fonts of beautiful "script" perhaps even yet unexcelled.

The success of typography depends upon the accuracy of the types. The page of a daily newspaper containing

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D. W. Bruce

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perhaps one hundred and fifty thousand type-pieces must be as solid, as square and even, as though composed of only one piece. At present the types of all American foundries are of the uniform standard height, namely: ninety-two hundredths of an inch. In different parts of Europe the lack of this uniformity is often a great annoyance and disadvantage. The *American Cyclopedia* refers to Mr. Bruce's work as follows: "In 1822 George Bruce of New York introduced a new system of dimensions for the bodies of type whereby they are determined by a rule of geometrical progression, doubling every seventh size in any part of the series of sizes, and making each size 12.2462 per cent. smaller than the size following it. The distances between the sizes are irregular, but the dimensions of the bodies are in the proper correlation." By this we are to understand that a new scale of uniform gradation was devised according to which all sizes of type-bodies in use vary from each other by a fixed ratio. This makes possible the present perfect "point system" adopted by printers generally. Thus, for example, such were the actual differences in the bodies of type cast in the Bruce foundry that if nine lines of Brevier were equal to eight of Bourgois, nine of Bourgois must equal eight of Long Primer, nine of Long Primer eight of Small Pica, and so throughout the scale. The advantages in convenience and economy are manifest since now the type of all foundries and all offices are made uniform and may be exchanged or mingled without confusion.

The successful type-casting machine, the invention of David Bruce, Jr., was at once adopted and put into use by his uncle, George Bruce, who purchased the patent, added some improvements, and thus secured the first contrivance of the kind which so increased the facilities for type-making as to prove of permanent value and come to be generally adopted.

George Bruce was for many years president of the Mechanics' Institute, and of the Type-founders' Association. He was a member of the New York Historical Society, St. Andrew's Society, the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, and many others. He was a man of great force of character; of complete loyalty to principle, of thorough business integrity, of great but unostentatious benevolence. His success achieved is to be attributed to his own intelligent activity and foresight and his patient unwearied attention to business. He never received financial aid in his business or otherwise, but by a wise economy and good management was able to permit himself the luxury of assisting others.

In 1811 he married Miss Catherine Wolfe, daughter of David Wolfe, merchant, and sister of John David Wolfe, the well-known philanthropist and father of the much esteemed Miss Catherine Lorillard Wolfe. Their eldest son, named for his maternal grandfather, succeeded to the ownership of the Bruce type-foundry, from which he has but recently retired.

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THE CATHERINE WOLFE COLLECTION OF PAINTINGS.

SCORES of charitable and educational institutions, not only widely distributed in our own land but even beyond the seas, keep green the memories of John David Wolfe, and that admirable lady, his equally philanthropic daughter. While a goodly portion of their large and frequent benefactions amounting to millions of dollars fell to the share of the metropolis and its environments, yet it may be doubted whether any other single gift among them all will continue to be peculiarly acceptable to all the people and so highly appreciated as the collection of paintings bequeathed by Miss Wolfe to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

This is said to have been the largest bequest ever made to Art by a woman. Even in England the only gifts of a similar nature thought worthy of mention beside it were the collection of old masters from the Queen to the National Gallery in 1863, and the pictures acquired by the Wolverhampton Art Museum under the will of Mrs. Cartwright.

Of Miss Wolfe herself, since a sketch of her life is given in another place, it is only needful here to say that the graces of her character, her elevation and purity of soul, her intelligence, culture, unfailing generosity and kindness of heart, her spirit of devotion and record of multitudinous benefactions, all serve to shed an atmosphere of personal interest, of sympathetic warmth and attractiveness about this noble collection. Its intrinsic worth is enhanced by the richness and beauty of the personality which as a whole, it represents. She selected the pieces and herself enjoyed them. She desired and deliberately planned that you and I and the thousands who will continue to throng those galleries should participate in her pleasure, and feel the same educating and refining influences. Every picture is thus connected with the refined tastes and noble impulses of one, a lady in the true sense of the word, and an honor to American womanhood.

From early life she had cultivated her taste and her affection for the fine arts. Her judgment was strengthened by study and by acquaintance with the works of olden and modern artists. She gradually gathered about her these examples of masters in the modern schools, at the same time relying much in making selections upon the advice and assistance of her kinsman, John Wolfe Esq., who possessed a fine artistic taste and had himself made a notable collection. Still we are assured that she exercised a completely independent judgment, which in the end decided her choice; so that we have in these paintings a genuine record of the educated and refined taste of the donor.

While living, Miss Wolfe had been a generous patron of the Metropolitan Museum, and of the Museum of Natural History as well, to which, among other gifts she had contri-

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buted a fine collection of shells and a library of conchology. She had also contributed to the American School of Art at Athens, and had paid the expenses of an expedition into Asia for exploration in the interest of archæological discovery.

The "Catherine Lorrillard Wolfe Collection" comprises one hundred and forty-three catalogued numbers, splendidly filling the two entire western galleries ("S" and "R") of the Metropolitan Museum, and constituting a very large and important part of the entire exhibit of paintings. This collection is valued at about one-half million dollars; and by the bequest an endowment of two hundred thousand dollars was added, the income from which is to be used for the care and enlargement of the collection. Not least in interest and value are the splendid portraits of Miss Wolfe's father and of herself, the first by Daniel Huntington and the other by Alexander Cabanel. These are gems from the artistic standpoint as well as replete with personal interest.

Previous to the year 1887, when this bequest was made, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, had received very few donations of paintings which were of special interest or value. But this same year, in addition to Miss Wolfe's gift, it was enriched by the following contributions: Meissonier's famous "Freidland in 1807," Piloty's "Thesnulda at the Triumphal Entry of Germanicus," Rosa Bonheur's "Horse Fair;" all three from the Stewart sale: Detaille's "Defense of Champigny;" Sir Joshua Reynolds' large portrait-group of Henry Fane and his companions, formerly owned by the Earl of Westmorland, from whom it passed to Junius S. Morgan, the well-known American banker, in London; Thermitte's "Vintage;" Dannat's "Quatuor," and twenty pieces presented by Mr. George Seney, including excellent examples of the work of Israels, Mauve and Lerolle, and of American painters, George Fuller, George Inness and F. D. Millet, with five others.

Miss Wolfe's legacy comprised about one hundred and twenty oil paintings, and more than twenty important water colors. Many were painted to her order, and others purchased from the artists. Still others were bought at celebrated sales such as the Laurent-Richard, and a number from the John Wolfe collection. In character the selections are popular, thus calculated to please and edify the majority of visitors much more than in all probability would have been the case had the same outlay been made by reputed artistic experts. A preference is given to figures over landscapes, and to bright or rich coloring rather than to "tone." It must be conceded that a high average of excellence has been attained.

There are no old pictures, nor any by English artists, except "The Puritan Girl" by Boughton; and "A Woman's Head" by Sir Frederick Leighton. Americans also have but two pieces; the portrait already mentioned, the work of Huntington, the venerated president of the National Academy, and the other a coast landscape by W. T. Richards. Nor are the great Frenchmen of the romantic school generally or largely represented. There is no Millet nor Delacroix, and Rousseau has but one small picture;

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but by Dechamps we have an important and beautiful work, "The Night Patrol at Smyrna," bought at the John Taylor Johnson sale in 1876, for $8,350. "Superb in color, full of passion, warmth and light, fiery in action, this is the finest painting in the collection. The subject is the same as that of Dechamps' picture, at the Salon of 1831, which is now owned by Sir Richard Wallace, of which this is a smaller replica with some changes. It is the same one, I think, which was sold at the Wertheimer sale in Paris (1861) for twenty-five thousand francs. In it one can see the solid white walls and deep brown shadows of the inimitable Dechamps' which Blanchard Jerrold spoke of when writing on the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857, where the original was shown."[1]

Troyon has two excellent pictures; one in particular, "Study of a White Cow," climbing a field-path with heavy shadows and a rich blue sky, deserves warm praise. Diaz has three Landscapes, and a "Holy Family." Fromentin, an "Arabs crossing a Ford," with some of his admirable horses; Dupré, two good pictures, "The Hay Wagon" and "Old Oak"; and Daubigny, a couple of companion river scenes, "Morning on the Seine" and "Evening on the Oise"; while Corot contributes "Ville d'Avray."

For the rest we have paintings of the sober and respectable Munich and Dusseldorf schools, pictures by Dutch and Belgian artists, also brilliant examples of the Spanish-Roman family, and various works by living French painters. Some of these have gained a wide popularity through reproductions. Such are Gabriel Max's maiden martyr, called "The Last Token"; Knaus's "Holy Family" painted for the Empress of Russia in 1876, but for some reason not taken by her, and purchased of the artist in Berlin by Miss Wolfe for twenty thousand dollars; and Cot's "The Storm," a youth and girl with flying draperies about them hastening to shelter. No one needs to be told of the popularity of this picture for reproduction; but after one has contemplated for a time the beauty and grace of the original it seems a great pity that it should be so commonly travestied in crude representations. Of course in some measure the remark applies to all fine originals.

Other pictures of the same *genre* as the last named are Cabanel's "Shulamite Woman," Makart's "Dream After the Ball," Merle's "Falling Leaves," Lefebvre's "Graziella," and Chaplin's "Haidee." The ordinary admirer of fine paintings will find in these pieces much pleasure and will scarcely fall in with the slighting tone of our critic who remarks: "Among these rather characterless studies of beautiful women, the irreproachable drawing of Lefebvres' 'Capri Fisher-girl' is perhaps the thing most worthy of notice."

Kaulbach's "Crusaders Before Jerusalem," a repetition of his fresco in the Berlin Museum, shows a mingling of history and allegory in his usual vigorous style. "An inferior work by another famous German is Piloty's weak and theatrical 'Wise and Foolish Virgins,' in which the artist has clothed some of the maidens of the Scripture parable in an Egyptian cos-

[1] Walter Rowlands, in Art Journal of 1889.

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tume, and the rest in a nondescript dress, possibly intended for Greek, but smacking more of the shop of a costumiér for fancy dress balls." In this criticism most persons of taste will concur. The picture, though pretentious, is a somewhat glaring failure which has no counterpart in this collection. On the other hand "the rich tones of a 'Bashi Bazouk' by Barque, in which yellows are contrasted with the turquoise blue of a pipe-bowl, reveal brush work superior to Gerome's and envelop the softer flesh tints in an atmosphere which the great French draughtsman cannot render." By Gerome himself are an "Arab Boy" and "Prayer in a Mosque, Old Cairo," the latter an interesting and faithful reproduction of a crowd of worshipping priests and Armauts in robes of vivid colors standing under a long perspective of arches with pigeons fluttering at their feet and around the quaint lamps hanging above.

Meissonier is admirably represented by his "The Two Van de Veldes," "A General and Adjutant," "Shores of Antibes," and a water color of his "Sign Painter." An exquisite specimen of Cabanel's skill as a painter of *dames âu monde* is his portrait of Miss Wolfe, where the donor of this collection stands in a dress of palest lemon satin, trimmed with dark grey fur, and relieved against a dull red wall. In this case the costume has not been made too much of, and the fine personality of the sitter dominates the whole. This is, indeed, the portrait of a lady, and if that dangerous word, elegance, can be safely used anywhere, it might here in speaking of the figure and its accessories. The slender hands are most admirably rendered, and accent the impression left by the face—a type full of distinction. Cabanel has here shown that he can do justice to a subject worthy of his utmost skill. The picture is life-size and nearly full-length.

Bonnat, with a gravity of touch fitting his theme, has painted an "Egyptian Fellah-woman and Child" from studies made at the opening of the Suez Canal. The mother holding the nude child asleep on her shoulder stands facing us in the twilight, somber and pathetic. For color, a dark blue robe, a head-dress of tawny yellow, a blue bead or two, a little touch of red on the edge of the haik. An important Jules Breton is his large "Religious Procession in Brittany," a *pardon* crowded with devout worshippers walking through a churchyard. Grave peasants bearing lighted candles come forward between two rows of white-coifed women—a picture with genuine feeling. But to my mind *the* Breton of the collection is a charming little study of a peasant-girl knitting in an orchard with tender shadows and bright sunshine falling on yellow-green grass between the trees. Munkacsy's "Pawn-Shop," familiar to most readers hangs on the wall near by—a strong painting with many merits. There are characteristic works by Vibert, Pasini, Henner, Roybet, Domingo, Boldini, Mahlberg, Rico, Bouguereau, Schenck, Rosa Bonheur, and many others. To the present writer there is nothing more impressive in the collection, nor indeed in the entire galleries of the Metropolitan, than the storm scene, "Lost," by Auguste Schenck. It shows a flock of sheep with two equally

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dismayed and discouraged dogs on a wide inhospitable reach of moor and hill and rock in the midst of a terrific drive of snow. With mutual distress and fear the flock is crowded into a compact knot where the expression of mute suffering and despair in the poor animals seems wonderful and heart-rending. The dogs near by helplessly leaning against each other form a second group which only intensifies the hopeless desolation. The companion to this powerful work, by the same artist, where the flock and dogs appear in a very different scene and with a spirit and motive in contrast, may be seen in the gallery of the Astor Library.

To return to the German contingent; Kraus in his "Old Woman and Cats" has treated one of those homely subjects in which his real strength lies. The witch-like crone sitting by the kitchen fire is a lover of cats, and they are all around her. Cats and kits are the motive and never truer painted. Cat character is here perfectly represented—a far from easy task; but one could not ask to have it better done. "Stand forth, Herr Kraus, painter of cats, and fear no work of Godfried Mind, the Raphael of cats, or that other great delineator of domestic felines, the Frenchman Lambert." "Surprise," an excellent portrait of a terrier looking into a mirror is by Joseph Stevens, the Belgian animal painter, whose works are not common.

Among water colors the most remarkable are Fortuny's "Camels Reposing," the one by Meissonier already referred to; Bida's drawing of the "Massacre of the Mamelukes," and some sketches by Louis Leloir. Bida's picture, a replica of the one in the Luxembourg, is deficient in color, but a noteworthy example of his power of drawing. Enclosed by stratagem in a narrow court between high buildings and the gates shut upon them, the doomed band of fierce warriors have been slaughtered almost to a man by the murderous fire poured down upon them from roofs and windows. Their frantic horses dash wildly about, and in the foreground one of the few survivors raises his clenched fist to hurl a last malediction at his destroyers.

It will be seen that this fine legacy includes much of lasting value; and it may well incite to emulation of a noble sort in others who have it in their power to confer upon the people like benefits and to win for themselves a like grateful and happy remembrance.

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THE CATHERINE WOLFE PAINTINGS.

JOHN DAVID WOLFE—CATHERINE LORILLARD WOLFE.

PROMINENT among the philanthropists of New York—choice spirits not merely blameless in the sight of men, but whose daily lives, becomingly adorned with gentleness and love, conferred continual and lasting benefits upon their fellows—will long be gratefully remembered the names of John David Wolfe and Catherine Lorillard Wolfe, his devoted daughter. They were animated by one sentiment, lived for one object, labored for one end—the love of God and the welfare of his creatures. Thus endowed by nature and by grace, it seems a most happy circumstance that they were permitted with such ample means to fulfil so large and blessed a stewardship. For what they did is not to be set down to the credit of a delightfully kind and amiable disposition merely, but was rather the result of deliberate purpose, personal consecration, laborious attention and application to the work of benevolence. Wisdom, calculation, and conscience appeared in all their magnificent generosity.

John David Wolfe was born in in New York City, July 24, 1792, and died May 17, 1872 in his eightieth year. His family in this country descended from his grandfather of the same name, John David Wolfe, who came from Saxony and died in 1759 leaving a comfortable property to his widow and four children. The eldest of these, David, was then but eleven years of age. He lived to be eighty-eight, a prosperous merchant, and resided through nearly all this period in a white cottage with a garden in front, situated on the north side of Fulton street between William and Nassau.

He served honorably throughout the War of Independence, first as Captain, and afterward as quartermaster under General Timothy Pickering.

John David Wolfe, son of David, inherited his father's hardware business, which he carried on at the corner of Maiden Lane and Gold streets, at first in connection with his cousin, but afterwards re-organized under the style of "Wolfe & Bishop." Mr. Wolfe's eminent success in his business, joined with far-seeing and judicious investments in real estate, soon brought him into the possession of an independent fortune.

At about the age of fifty he withdrew entirely from trade, and devoted the remaining thirty years of his life to the extensive labors of mercy and benevolence, which he had early shown to be dear to his heart. He not only gave largely with open heart and bounteous hand to every good cause, but he also gave with careful discrimination. He devoted laborious attention to his benevolences, directing every charity intelligently upon thorough information. For a long time he was vestryman of Trinity Church; afterward he became senior Warden of Grace Church. He bestowed his care especially upon the

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relief of orphans, and the aged, and the improvement of the condition of prisoners confined in various public institutions. The causes of religion and education enlisted his constant and hearty support. He founded the High School for girls and "Wolfe Hall," at Denver, Colorado; established a diocesan school for girls at Topeka, Kansas; erected a building for the Theological Seminary connected with Kenyon College; donated a fund for the College of Sisters of Bethany at Topeka; built a house for crippled and destitute children, and for impoverished Christian men at St. Johnland in Suffolk county, New York; and, together with Mrs. Peter Cooper, established the "Sheltering Arms Charity" in New York City. He shared in the organization of St. Johnland, was its first President, and continued to be a liberal contributor to its support. He was also President of the Working Women's Protective Union; Vice-president of the Society of the New York Hospital; and an active officer in many other charitable organizations.

For a time Mr. Wolfe was President of the American Museum of Natural History, and always an efficient and enthusiastic promoter of its objects.

At his individual expense he prepared, published, and distributed a "Mission Service," containing suitable portions of the Book of Common Prayer. It was highly commended, and widely employed in the work of the Church. Translations were made into German, Spanish and French, and more than 130,000 copies were circulated.

The dioceses of Colorado, Kansas, Iowa, Utah, Nevada and Oregon, owe more to the gifts and personal interest of Mr. Wolfe than to the efforts of any other layman. In some of them almost the entire educational structure of the diocese was his exclusive work. At home this was little known, for Mr. Wolfe's benefactions were as far removed from ostentation as they were princely in variety and extent.

Of him Bishop H. C. Potter declared that: "He never did anything penuriously, but at the same time his range was almost boundless. Yet there was something more than the profuseness and the catholicity of his charities, which so greatly endeared him to others when living, and which makes him so unaffectedly lamented, now that he is dead. It was rather the rare and happy combination in him of great practical wisdom, of habitually sound discrimination, of a warm and generous and sympathetic heart, *with untiring activity in carrying out its impulses.*"

Mr. Wolfe married Dorothea Ann, daughter of the second Peter Lorillard. They had two daughters, of whom only one, Catherine Lorillard Wolfe, survived to be the comfort of her father, as well as his successor in his philanthrophic spirit and enterprises. The personal attributes of Mr. Wolfe's character were quite as rare and remarkable as his public generosity—a side of his life manifested mainly in his home circle to his intimates and members of his own family. In his home uniformly he was found the quietest, kindliest, most evenly balanced of men. The petty domestic annoyances which expose the foibles of most of us, had no power to ruffle him. It can be said that the absolute unchangeableness

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Catharine L. Wolfe

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of his genial temperment, year after year, and under all the varying circumstances of his domestic life, was beyond question the most extraordinary characteristic of this remarkable man.

Catherine Lorillard Wolfe, daughter of John David Wolfe and Dorothea Ann Lorillard, was born in New York, March 28, 1828, and died in the same city, April 5, 1887. She received a careful education, and is described as most quiet and unassuming, with no eccentricities of habit or character—a lady truly refined, fond of her friends, whom she royally entertained.

As the only living child of her parents she inherited ample fortunes both from her father and also on her mother's side from the estate of her grandfather, the second Peter Lorillard. The one marked trait of her life and character was found in the fact that she recognized in herself the responsibility of stewardship, and regarded the wealth in her possession as a sacred trust to be administered in the fear of God, and for the benefit of humanity. While her father lived she entered into his philanthropic plans; ministering to him in this, as in other respects, as a dutiful and loving daughter; and after his death she carried forward with enlarged resources his wishes. Thus she inherited with his wealth a double portion of his spirit, with like intelligence, care and good judgment in the disposition of her gifts. Accordingly her benefactions were bestowed upon a multitude of enduring objects, which will remain perpetually as monuments, not merely of her philanthropic impulses, but of her wisdom as well. She was approachable for every really worthy cause (and applications were multitudinous) but she was cautious and discriminating, and especially so in later years. She used to say that she did not care how much money she gave away, if only she could feel assured it had been bestowed upon a worthy object. She felt that it should be employed for the elevation of the beneficiaries, and it annoyed her exceedingly when she had reason to think her bounty had been unworthily applied.

When in New York Miss Wolfe lived in her house in Madison Avenue, a mansion crowded with pictures, statuary, and bric-à-brac; but in summer she resided at Newport, Rhode Island, first in a cottage opposite the "Old Stone Mill" or "Round Tower," which Longfellow has immortalized in his "Skeleton in Armor," and afterward in her beautiful villa "Vinland." Miss Wolfe secured the services of two English artists in connecting her home with the legend. A frieze tells the story of the ballad, painted by Walter Crane; and a stained-glass window portrays some of the characters, the work of E. Burne-Jones.

At the first Miss Wolfe's benefactions amounted to one hundred thousand dollars per year, but as her resources increased, they rose to an average of more than double that sum. It is estimated that in the last fifteen years of her life, she gave away more than four million dollars. Not a little of the objects and occasions—indeed, only a few of the more conspicuous—can be mentioned. She fostered all the charities established by her father, and carried out his de-

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sign, by purchasing thirteen acres at Fordham, which she gave as a site for the Home for Incurables. She built schools and churches in many places west and south. She added to the funds of the Seminary at Alexandria, Egypt, and to the American Art School at Athens. She contributed largely to the building of the American Chapels at Rome and Paris. She distributed large amounts annually to indigent clergymen, or their families left destitute, as also to the deserving poor in general through the ministers and charitable institutions of the Protestant-Episcopal Church. In 1884 she supplied the funds for the expedition of exploration in Asia under the charge of Dr. Wm. H. Ward, which opened the way for important archæological discoveries.

Among the gifts of the last year of her life may be named $30,000 for education in Iowa, besides endowing a professorship in Griswold College; $100,000 to Union College; $30,000 to St. Luke's Hospital; $65,000 to St. Johnsland; over $100,000 to home and foreign Missionary Societies, and corresponding amounts to Churches and schools in California, Nevada, Colorado, Kansas, Minnesota, and Georgia. She had previously founded a Newsboy's Lodging-House at the corner of East Broadway and Governeur Streets, and established the Italian Mission on Mulberry Street.

She took special interest in Grace Church, of which she early became a member. She never wearied of adding to its conveniences, beauty, and means of usefulness. She gave the beautiful chantry at the South side and Grace House at the north, the grand organ, veredos, and a large stained-glass window (regarded as the most beautiful and costly in the United States) at the back of the chancel. She gave $30,000 for a building on Fourth Avenue to be torn away from the rear of the Church; $70,000 for the new steeple; $170,000 for the Diocesan House on Lafayette Place; large contributions to the Fourteenth Street Chapel; and lastly endowment for the Church of $350,000 by her will.

The gifts to the Museum of Natural History, and especially that exceedingly rich, rare and valuable legacy to the Metropolitan Museum of Art have been already described. By no means least of all is the memory and example left behind her of a sweet and exalted character and an unselfish life. Like her Master she "went about doing good" and all mankind must bless her memory.

FRANK ALLABEN.

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NOTABLE FAMILIES OF NEW JERSEY.

THE HORNBLOWER FAMILY—JOSIAH HORNBLOWER.

THE father of the subject of this sketch, was Joseph Hornblower, whose name is associated with those of the early experimenters with steam and inventors and improvers of the steam engine—Captain Savary, Newcomen, the ingenious locksmith Switzer, Crawford and James Watt the distinguished cultivator of natural philosophy, whose name will always be connected with that powerful motor that has done so much for civilization. Newcomen, after whom the first engines were called, while in the prosecution of his labors, met with Mr. Hornblower, in whom he found the scientific attainments and talents so much needed in his labors, and they became associated in many important works involving the employment of the steam engine. Mr. Hornblower's home was in Staffordshire, England, where he is said to have had twelve children, two of whom became like himself, eminent engineers.

Josiah Hornblower, the fourth son of Joseph Hornblower, was born in Staffordshire, February 23, 1729. Concerning his early education, there are no details to be found, and we must believe that for the rudiments to be acquired in ordinary schools, he was indebted mainly to his father, of whose intelligence and scientific attainments mention is made above. At an early age young Josiah manifested a great fondness for mathematical studies, and is said to have made wonderful progress therein even before the age of sixteen, when he accompanied his oldest brother, Jonathan, twelve years his senior, to Cornwall for the purpose of helping him in the erection of steam engines in the Cornish mines. Under so skilful an engineer as was the elder brother, young Josiah made rapid progress in his profession, and we soon find him engaged in erecting a powerful engine at the mines in Anglesea, England. It was while he was thus engaged that he entered into a contract with the agents in London for the owners of the Schuyler Copper Mine, nearly opposite to Belleville, in the County of Hudson, N. J., to erect a steam engine at that mine. As soon, therefore, as his engagement in Anglesea was finished, he came to this country, bringing with him all the materials necessary for an engine, with duplicates and triplicates of many parts of the machinery, and accompanied by a corps of experienced workmen. This was in September, 1753, at which time he had not yet reached the age of twenty-five. When completed, the engine was found to answer the purpose for which it was intended. The mines were successfully worked, and in accordance with his original intention he began to make arrangements for his return to England. Col. John Schuyler, the principal owner of the mines, loth to lose a man whose services were so valuable, offered him such inducements to remain, that he finally deter-

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mined to make America his permanent home. Not long after this, in 1755, he married Elizabeth Kingsland, a descendant of William Pinhorn, one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the colony during the administration of Lord Cornbury. He now purchased a farm at Belleville, or Second River, as it was formerly called, and continued with great success, to give his attention to mining operations in behalf of the original proprietors until July, 1761. From this time, until 1767, the mines went into the hands of lessees, of whom Mr. Hornblower was one, and continued to be one until, at least, 1773. That the mines ceased to be profitable after 1765 is quite apparent. In that year, says Gordon in his Gazetteer of New Jersey: "A workman having set fire to the engine house, the works were discontinued." This may be true, though other writers place this event, variously, in 1772 and 1773. However this may have been, there can be no doubt that the disturbed condition of affairs which for several years preceded the War of the Revolution had its effect upon business and manufacturing operations of every kind, especially those of great magnitude.

Mr. Hornblower had already, as early as May, 1760, entered into mercantile pursuits, having opened a store in Belleville, upon leased property which he subsequently purchased and made his residence during the remainder of his life. He was now in easy circumstances, and still in the full vigor of early manhood, with children rapidly increasing around him. Although mechanical pursuits were fully in accordance with his tastes, yet the employments of home, the voices of his loved ones and the attractions of his books were, doubtless, beginning to dissatisfy him with the toilsome duties and the rough companionship of the mines. It is, then, easy to believe that he could retire without great regret from the collapsing mines to the little store fronting the Passaic, and covered by the same roof that sheltered his wife and children. This is precisely what he did, and thenceforward the mines were almost entirely abandoned until 1793. It is presumable that his more frequent and closer companionship with his neighbors led to a fuller appreciation of his value as a man of superior intelligence and sterling honesty, yet we do not find that he was called upon to take part in public affairs until several years after he had been engaged in business which brought him in daily contact with those who stood upon an equal footing with him in the community. That he attended the Town Meetings in Newark and took an active interest in matters affecting the welfare of the township, which included Second River, is evident. The Town Records show that on several occasions between March 1, 1776, and April, 1779, he was appointed on committees of considerable importance, and it is very probable that in these positions he exhibited that rare good sense and judgment which characterized him, for in the latter part of the year last named he was chosen as one of the representatives of the county of Essex in the Assembly or lower house of the State Legislature. In the following year, 1780, he was reelected a member of the Assembly, and chosen speaker of that body. So much ability as a statesman, and such

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integrity and patriotism did he manifest during these two years in the Assembly, that in the succeeding year he was promoted from the lower to the higher branch of the Legislature, taking his seat in the council, October 27, 1781. In this position he remained four years, and during all this period was ever promptly at his post, faithful in the performance of every duty, fearless in the expression of his opinions, and persevering in carrying out every measure which he believed to be for the general welfare. In such high consideration was he now held on every side, that upon the assembling of the Legislature in October, 1785, he was selected by that body to represent New Jersey in the old Federal Congress which then held its sessions in the City of New York. It was an honor in no wise sought by him ; in fact, he knew nothing of the action of the Legislature in that matter until a committee waited upon him at his home and announced to him his election. With willingness to make any sacrifice for the common good, he accepted the position and entered upon its duties on the 7th of November following. As in the State Legislature, so in the national congress, he was governed entirely by his convictions, and plainly showed by his speeches and votes on many important occasions that he was the fearless advocate of right, and the determined opponent of everything that boded disaster to the young and feeble government. That he did much for the common welfare is beyond a doubt, but he stood, almost alone, an unselfish, patriotic man amidst a crowd of wranglers, indifferent to almost every thing except their personal interest or the interests of the widely separated localities from which they respectively came. It could not be otherwise than distasteful to a man of his peaceful disposition, and it is not strange that at the close of his term of office he should decline a re-election and retire to the enjoyments of his home and the conduct of his extensive farm.

Although twenty years had now passed since he bade farewell to his old steam engine, he had not lost for it all his love ; and now, after his three score years had been far more than completed, when, in 1793, he was asked to take charge of the long neglected mine, he consented, and, with nearly all his wonted energy, undertook the task. The old engine was brought out of its grave. New life was imparted by its creator to its broken bones and stiffened sinews, and once more, as of yore, it whistled and sang and danced. But the association which employed him to set it in motion became for him a second Congress. There were too many separate interests to serve, and, as in 1786, he shook from his feet the dirt of politics, so, in 1794, he bade farewell to partnerships and retired once more to his home and farm.

But the services of a man so valuable to a community by reason of his many excellences of mind and heart, could not be altogether dispensed with, even although he would serve no longer in the capacity of a legislator. Thus it happened that in 1790 he was appointed Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Essex county, "and acted as a magistrate many of his last years until his bodily infirmities admonished him to decline a reappointment." We are told in the

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obituary notice of him published in the newspapers of that day, that "his last illness was of a most painful kind," and that he was released from it by death, January 21, 1809. His eulogist on this occasion says: "He was a tender, affectionate and condescending husband; an instructive, endearing and indulgent father; a kind and provident master; a sincere friend and a pleasing, profitable companion. He possessed a quick, penetrating judgment and a very retentive memory, even to the close of life. But in all his researches after knowledge he searched the scriptures, thereby to improve his understanding, to regulate his will, his affections and possessions, and finally to obtain eternal life."

JOSEPH COERTEN HORNBLOWER.

The Honorable Josiah Hornblower, a sketch of whose life is given above, was the father of twelve children the eldest of whom was Joseph, born in 1756, who studied medicine, and had just entered upon the practice of his profession in New Brunswick, N. J., when he died, in 1777, leaving no issue. In the same year, a short time prior to the death of the young physician, the twelfth child was born to Mr. Hornblower, and this is the subject of our sketch. He was, also, named Joseph, with the addition of Coerten in honor of his mother.

Joseph Coerten Hornblower was born in Belleville, N. J., on the 6th of May, in the year last above stated. His early childhood gave small promise of a life even half as long as that of the deceased brother whose first name was given to him as has been already stated. So puny and sickly was he as a child, and so feeble throughout the years when boys are receiving their rudimentary education, and even fitted for the University, that little could be done for him in that direction. It is true that all that could be done for him in the matter of instruction was faithfully attended to. He was even sent to a classical school at Orange, but the advance made in his studies was, doubtless, very small. At the age of sixteen, the critical period in his life seemed to have been reached; a stroke of paralysis prostrated all his faculties, physical and mental, and death appeared to be close at hand. In time, however, his bodily powers began slowly to return, but from his mind almost every thing seemed to have faded out. All the instructions that he had received from his father and at school had vanished, and the work of mental culture was begun, from the very alphabet, anew. Hopeless as appeared to be the case, yet no means were left untried to bring back the departed memory. The secret spring was touched at last, and the casket that contained all the acquisitions of his childhood and early youth was found and opened. Health of body and mind was renewed. Their preservation, however, demanded the abandonment of all thought of a college career, of a profession and of a life of study and confinement. His time must be passed, as much as possible out of doors, amid the hum and bustle of the busy world, and for this reason he was sent to his brother-in-law, a merchant in New York, to learn the use of the yard-stick and the ways of the counting-house. But, for him,

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these had very little interest, for he was fond of books, and he had not yet given up his early determination to become a lawyer. None of the advantageous offers made to him by his brother-in-law could induce him to give up his original purpose, and accordingly, in 1798, he entered the office of David B. Ogden, then a young and promising lawyer in Newark, N. J. Health of body and vigor of mind were now his own, and his application to the new work upon which he had entered was marvellous to all who knew him. He was in his element. The law was his delight, and so thoroughly did he master all the details of practice, and such was his aptitude for business, that his preceptor, Mr. Ogden, loth to lose his service, took him into partnership, while he was still a student. Sometime after, in 1803, he was admitted to the bar.

Taking into consideration the adverse circumstances against which young Hornblower had been obliged to contend, his career, thus far, was truly wonderful. With an ever growing love for his profession, perfect honesty of purpose, and integrity of character, success was certain to attend him. His name soon found a place among those of the most eminent members of the bar, and his practice became equal, ere long, to that of any of them. He was of untiring industry; and it has been said of him that "his knowledge was always at his fingers' ends and ready for use." For nearly thirty years he had been practising at the bar, when the Hon. Charles Ewing, Chief Justice of New Jersey, suddenly died. Mr. Hornblower was appointed his successor, and at the November Term, 1832, took his seat upon the bench of the Supreme Court. This honorable position, for which he was so eminently qualified, was occupied by him during the succeeding fourteen years, when he retired at the age of three score and ten. Throughout this long period he attended to the duties of his office with the same earnestness and honesty that had characterized his labors at the bar. His decisions embrace causes of every conceivable character, and occupy the greater part of nearly eight volumes of the New Jersey Law Reports. "These reports," said Judge Field in his eulogy upon the Chief Justice, "attest his professional learning, his legal acumen, his sound and discriminating judgment, and his inflexible love of justice and right."

Chief Justice Hornblower, while still upon the bench, was chosen a member of the Convention to prepare a new Constitution in 1844. This convention was composed of men selected from every county in the State, and representing both of the great political parties. He was chairman of the committee on Executive Department, and took an active part in the deliberations. Two years after, in 1846, his judicial labors ceased, and he returned, for a short time, to the work of his profession, but this was more on account of his hatred of idleness than of any expectation of building up a practice as extensive as that which he had abandoned for the bench. In 1841 the College of New Jersey conferred on him the honorary degree of LL. D., and, in 1847, appointed him professor of law in that institution, hoping that he would make Princeton his home, and devote himself to the

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duties of his new office. Although he accepted the position, and delivered one course of lectures, he could not be prevailed upon to leave Newark, and, without formally resigning his professorship, gradually withdrew his attendance. Throughout all his busy life as a lawyer and as a judge, he had ever taken a lively interest and an active part in the religious and benevolent institutions of the day. With the American Bible Society, the American Tract Society, the Home Missionary Society, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, he was officially connected. Of the New Jersey Colonization Society he was for many years President; and the same position was occupied by him in the Society for Promoting Collegiate and Theological Education in the West. For more than fifty years, he was ruling Elder in the First Presbyterian Church of Newark, N. J. In 1845 he took an active part in the formation of the New Jersey Historical Society, and was President of that institution from its organization in that year to the day of his death.

Judge Hornblower was a man who never took rest, and who never thought himself too old to work whenever duty called him. In 1856, when he believed that the Union was in peril because of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and that the triumph of the Republican Party alone could save it, he rose from a bed of sickness to attend the National Republican Convention which assembled in Philadelphia to nominate a candidate for the Presidency. On this occasion he was made chairman of the New Jersey delegation and one of the Vice-Presidents of the Convention. At this time he was in his eightieth year. In the Presidential contest of 1860, which resulted in the election of Mr. Lincoln, he was also a prominent and active worker. When the electoral college assembled to cast its vote for New Jersey, he was called upon to preside, and on taking the chair, made an affecting speech, one of the last of his life, and gave his vote for Lincoln and Hamlin. He was then eighty-three years of age. As a sincere lover of the Union, it was a terrible moment for him when the cannon of Fort Sumter announced the beginning of what must inevitably be a long and bloody civil war. Born when Washington had his head quarters at Morristown, when New Jersey was the battle-ground of the Revolution, and but a few days before Congress made the Stars and Stripes the flag of the Union, it is a noteworthy circumstance that his life should have closed under the same surroundings in which it began, that one of his last declarations should have been his loyalty to the principles for which Washington contended, and that his tremulous voice should have been last lifted in popular gatherings in defence of that flag whose birthday was so nearly his own. So intense was his interest in the struggle then going on, that even while lying upon his dyingbed, he insisted upon having the reports of it read to him from the daily papers, and it was while listening to the proceedings of the Union Convention then in session at Baltimore, that he gave feeble utterance to the last words that passed his lips: "Convention—Convention—for the Freedom of Man-

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Wm H. Hornblower

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kind." On the Saturday following, June 11, 1864, he died in his eighty-eighth year.

WILLIAM HENRY HORNBLOWER.

Of the eight children of Chief Justice Hornblower, two only were sons. Of these, the elder was Charles Williamson Hornblower, who was born in Newark, N. J., October 14, 1812. He chose a business instead of a professional career, and still lives (1893) near Philadelphia, much respected and beloved. He represents one of his maternal ancestors in the New Jersey Society of the Cincinnati.

The younger son was William Henry Hornblower, who was born in Newark, N. J., March 21, 1820. Having completed his preparatory studies at Elizabeth, N. J. under the direction of Rev. John T. Halsey, he entered the college of New Jersey at Princeton, and was graduated from that institution in 1838. Soon afterwards, he began the study of law under the instruction of the Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen and the Hon. A. C. M. Pennington. Before the expiration of the year during which he was thus employed, he became a member, by confession, of the First Presbyterian Church of his native city. This event resulted in the choice of a career, different from that which he had at first determined to run. With the approbation of his honored father, he entered, in 1839, the Theological Seminary at Princeton, and was graduated therefrom in February, 1843. Feeling the importance of the work to which he meant to devote his life, he determined to engage in it without loss of time, and accordingly, in May ensuing, went forth as a missionary in "The Pines" of New Jersey, where he labored until the following November. On the 30th of January, 1844, he was ordained by the Presbytery of Elizabeth, N. J., and on the same day was installed pastor of the First Church of Paterson, N. J. Here he remained throughout the long period of twenty-seven years, notwithstanding many calls to positions of greater prominence. To this church, the only one which he ever served as pastor, he became greatly endeared by reason of his gentleness of manner, his unselfishness of disposition, and, above all, his fatherly affection for those with whom, and for whom, he was laboring in the cause of the Divine Master. In fact, his people were attached to him by an affection which, truly, amounted to devotion. There was a sincerity in him which no one could dispute, and a depth of loving-kindness so manifested in all his actions, that those courageous and forcible expressions of strong convictions which so frequently bring unpopularity for the many, won for him the warmest approbation. Both inside and outside his congregation, the very persons even, whom he felt it a duty to rebuke, could not withhold from him their respect and kindest regard.

Notwithstanding the loving relations existing between Dr. Hornblower and his congregation at Paterson, the day finally arrived when he felt that another field of labor had been providentially pointed out to him, and that he must obey the summons. The Western Theological Seminary at Allegheny, Pa., had marked him as a man whose genuine piety, lovable nature, marvellous suc-

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cess as a pastor, courage and effectiveness as a preacher, influence as a leader in church councils, and, withal, whose familiarity with ecclesiastical law, eminently fitted him as an instructor of young men preparing for the Christian ministry. Convinced as to all these qualifications, that institution elected him to the Union Professorship of Sacred Rhetoric, church government and pastoral theology. He accepted the call, and on the 1st of October, 1871, his relations with the church at Paterson were sundered, with heart-felt sorrow, as may be easily imagined, on his own part, as well as on the part of his people. To Allegheny he at once proceeded, and, with his characteristic energy, entered upon the new work before him. As in Paterson, so here, he soon won the respect and kind regards of all with whom he came in contact. In the Theological Seminary he devoted himself conscientiously and earnestly to the discharge of the duties of the important chair occupied by him. In the pulpit he was not only a favorite of the students, but likewise of the citizens of Allegheny, all denominations of whom went to hear him. In the pulpit he was always ready to labor in the cause to which he had devoted his life, and it was in the pulpit, while engaged in the service of this cause, that he was smitten with the disease that at last resulted in his death. This sad event took place on Sunday, May 20, 1883, in the Church of Bellefield, Pittsburg, Pa. where, by invitation, he was on that day preaching. While conducting the service, he was suddenly prostrated by a stroke of paralysis, and for several days death seemed to be just at hand. Skilful medical treatment and careful nursing prolonged his life, and, for a time, recovery seemed probable. A second stroke, however, fell upon him, and the end came July, 16, 1883.

Dr. Hornblower married, June 17, 1846, Miss Matilda Butler of Suffield, Conn., daughter of Asa Butler, Esq., a successful paper manufacturer of that place, and of the old Puritan blood of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Three children were the issue of this marriage, Joseph Coerten Hornblower, who was graduated from the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale College in 1869, and who is a prominent architect of Washington, D. C. many of whose buildings, both private residences and business structures adorn that city; William Butler Hornblower, a lawyer of New York City, and a daughter, Helen, who is the wife of Eugene Stevenson of Paterson, one of the leading lawyers of his section of the State.

WILLIAM BUTLER HORNBLOWER.

The second son of Rev. William Hornblower D. D., whose biographical sketch is given above, was William Butler Hornblower, well known as a leading member of the New York bar. Like his distinguished father and grand-father, he is also a Jerseyman by birth, having been born May 13, 1851, at Paterson, N. J., where, as has been above said, his father was pastor of the First Presbyterian Church for the long period of twenty-seven years. His preparatory studies were pursued in "The Collegiate School" in New York City, and he entered the College of New Jersey in 1871. As in the pre-

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Yrs sincerely,

H. B. Horniblow.

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paratory school, so in the university, young Hornblower displayed the industrious habits inherited, doubtless, from his illustrious grand-father, Chief Justice Hornblower, and it is not wonderful that he should have taken a high position among his compeers at life's very outset. With him the preparation for a learned profession was as serious a matter as was even the practice of that profession, and to whatever was important thereto he devoted all his energies. To win some, at least, of the first prizes contended for by his class was, therefore, to be expected. This he not only did, but at his graduation won the honor of being selected as the *Belles Lettres* orator of his class. Having received the degree of A. B., he entered the Law School of Columbia College, whence he was graduated in 1875, adding to his previously received degrees of A. B. and A. M. that of LL. B. It is doubtful, however, whether he derived more profit from the learned lectures to which he daily listened at the Law School, than he did from the frequent discussions of legal questions into which he was prone to lead his distinguished uncle, Judge Woodruff, of whose family he was a member during the period of his law studies; or than he did from his illustrious uncle, Justice Joseph P. Bradley of the United States Supreme Court, with whom he was also wont to discourse upon the abstrusities of the law.

It would be strange if, with such advantages, Mr. Hornblower should not have entered upon the practice of his chosen profession with almost the certainty of success. Such, indeed, proved to be the case. With a mind well trained, replete with varied learning, and, especially, enlightened upon all the niceties of the law; with a knowledge of general business, too, as well as with habits of industry, he came to the bar, a young man, it is true, but with a share of legal knowledge equal in value to the ordinary experience of a decade of years. It was in the field opened by the bankruptcy law that he first displayed his talents, and with such success, and such reputation for trust-worthiness and professional acumen, that retainers soon began to flow in upon him, not only from individuals, but from consolidated interests and corporations of every magnitude. That his practice became very extensive and very important may be seen in the published reports of cases argued by him in both the State and Federal courts. The superior qualifications exhibited by him as a lawyer and as a referee brought his name more than once in prominent mention for high judicial stations. At present he is the senior member of the law firm of Hornblower, Byrne & Taylor.

As a writer, Mr. Hornblower has also won an enviable reputation. His writings have not as yet been collected in a volume, but, of the many well worthy of such preservation, special mention may be made here of his article in the *American Law Review* for March, 1880, entitled, "Conflict between Federal and State Decisions;" also an address before the American Social Science Association, September 6, 1888, his theme being, "Is Codification of the Law expedient?" also an address before the American Bar Association in August, 1891, on the "Legal Status of the Indian," as

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well as a lecture before the students of Columbia College Law School on "The Appellate Courts." These and other writings flow gracefully from his pen, and, for vigor and clearness, entitle him to a high place among the authors belonging to his profession.

Of the American Bar Association mentioned above, Mr. Hornblower is an active and useful member, serving on important committees, and doing all in his power to promote the usefulness of the association. His name may also be found upon the rolls of many notable metropolitan clubs such as the Democratic, the Reform, the Manhattan, the Metropolitan and the University. In all of these he takes a lively interest, and the Council of the club last named numbers him among its members.

In 1890, the Governor of the State of New York appointed Mr. Hornblower a member of the Commission created under the act of the Legislature to propose amendments to the Judiciary article of the State Constitution. That similar honors have been offered to him from time to time is evidence of the high esteem in which he is held as a lawyer and a citizen. Still in the mid-day of life it is easy to believe that his industry and learning, accompanied as they are by sound judgment and honesty, will assure to him the highest honors of his profession, and a name worthy of his illustrious ancestors.

FREDERIC W. RICORD

CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. IV.

DR. SAMUEL RUSH HAVEN.

SAMUEL RUSH HAVEN who achieved distinction during the War of the Rebellion as a surgeon on the staff of Gen. U. S Grant, and who was widely known later as a physician, scientist, and traveler, was born in Chatauqua County, New York, June 27th, 1827.

His father, Samuel Haven, was a well known Chatauqua County farmer, who left the Empire State in 1834 to become one of the pioneer Settlers of Eastern Illinois, at what is now the village of New Lennox in Will County. The elder Haven was a substantial citizen of the rural community in which he lived, whose chief distinction was acquired through his uncompromising hostility to the institutions of slavery and his readiness to aid fugitive slaves in obtaining their freedom. With other pioneers of Northern Illinois whose names have passed into local history as promoters of the "Underground Railway," he was early recognized as a friend of the Negro, and no freedom seeking man or woman ever appealed to him in vain for succor or assistance.

Samuel R. Haven grew to manhood on his father's farm, but early developed a taste for professional life. After educating himself by his own

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S. R. Haven.

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efforts, he took up the study of medicine and matriculated at Rush Medical College of Chicago in 1847. In 1849 he graduated from this institution and began the practice of his profession in Vandalia, Illinois. In a short time, however, the discovery of gold in California attracted his attention, and receiving the position of surgeon to one of the ships sailing for the Pacific coasts from New York, his field of operation was transferred temporarily to the famous gold fields. While practicing his profession to some extent in this new field he also engaged in mining enterprises of more than ordinary magnitude for that time. His scientific knowledge was applied to the solution of various problems which presented themselves, and the result was an improvement on the methods of mining then generally in vogue, which enabled him to operate on a comparatively extensive scale and to realize for himself and associates handsome returns.

In 1851 he returned to Illinois coming by way of New York and Philadelphia. In the last named city he stopped long enough to have the gold dust which he had brought with him from California, converted into coin, and this he brought with him to his old home at New Lennox. His accumulations constituted a considerable fortune in those days, and as he located soon after in Chicago he was able to make investments which developed into an ample fortune some years later. Resuming the practice of his profession when he came to Chicago in 1851, Dr. Haven took high rank among the physicians of the city during the years immediately preceding the war. When the war began he tendered his services to the government and in 1861 accompanied by the troops sent out from Chicago on the famous "Cairo Expedition."[1] At Cairo he took charge of the Military Hospital and made a remarkable record for skill and efficiency in the management of the hospital and the treatment of cases which came in under his care. Out of three hundred fever patients committed to the hospital of which he had charge he did not lose a single patient, and the attention which he gave to sanitation had much to do with bringing about these satisfactory results. At the end of three months he was called to Washington and promoted to brigade surgeon, being assigned to duty first on the staff of Gen. A. F. Smith. He was next made a surgeon of division with the rank of colonel and transferred to General Grant's command remaining with him until shortly before the capture of Vicksburg. He was offered a commission as colonel in the regular army by President Lincoln but declined the appointment, and at the end of this term of service as surgeon he returned to Chicago. With a comfortable fortune at his command and a taste for scientific research and travel he never resumed the active practice of his profession after the war. Accompanied by his wife—who before her marriage to Dr. Haven in 1854 was Miss Jane Stowell, daughter of E. C. Stowell, one of the pioneers of Chicago,—he lived much of the time abroad and visited all portions of the United States. He was especially fond of visiting the

[1] For an account of the expedition see National Magazine for July 1892, p. 338.

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Gulf Coast of the United States and had a beautiful winter home in this region at which he spent a large portion of his time during the later years of his life.

Always a close student of natural history he became particularly interested in studying the nature, habits, and peculiarities, of the fish found in the waters of the Gulf region, and various important contributions to science resulted from his investigations, those relating to the reproduction of species in the shark family being of especial interest and consequence.

Dr. Haven died while visiting his brother, Hon. Dwight Haven, near Joliet, Illinois, May 4th, 1890.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

THE SUBURBAN GROWTH OF CHICAGO.

JACOB FORSYTH.

GREAT as has been the development of Chicago in all directions its most extended suburban growth has been southward, and even the Indiana State line can hardly be looked upon now as the limits of the extension south and east. Within the past few years the entire face of the country has been changed in this section, and lands are now being appropriated to uses of which the most sanguine owner did not dream a dozen years ago.

One of the most actively identified with this development has been Mr. Jacob Forsyth, a pioneer in his identification with western transportation interests and for nearly forty years a citizen of Chicago. When Pittsburg was known as the "Gateway of the West," Jacob Forsyth, then a boy of fifteen years of age, came there with his parents from the North of Ireland where he was born in 1821. In his early boyhood he had received a fair education, which was supplemented by thorough industrial training as he grew to manhood, and he started in life a sagacious clear-headed young man well equipped for a business career. Becoming connected first with the transportation business in Pennsylvania, he was identified with this interest in the pioneer era of its history in the west and northwest. In those days west-bound freight used to reach Pittsburg largely by Penn. canal in the summer or by wagons in the winter—and at this point they were transferred to boats on the Ohio river or sent by overland wagon trains to what was then the far west. With all the phases of this old time transportation business Mr. Forsyth became familiar as a young man, and after a few years became agent of the Adams' Express Company at Pittsburg. While acting in this capacity his business methods and efficiency attracted the attention of the agents of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company who had charge of the

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through freight traffic. In 1857 they sent him to take charge of their western business. After conducting this with marked success for three years he became general northwestern freight and passenger agent for the Erie Railway Company and retained this position until 1867.

In 1845 Mr. Forsyth had married Miss Caroline Clarke of Fayette County, Pennsylvania, and about the time he retired from the general northwestern agency of the Erie Company, his wife inherited from her brother George W. Clarke—a noted old time real estate owner of Chicago—a tract of land lying in the Northern portion of Lake County, Indiana. At that time this land was not looked upon as a very desirable investment by speculators in western lands, but Mr. Forsyth's good judgment and foresight led him to believe that within his lifetime it would be in demand for other than farming purposes. With the tract of land inherited by Mrs. Forsyth as a nucleus he began adding to their possessions and before many years had passed he had accumulated fifteen thousand acres and was one of the largest, if not the largest, land owner in the State of Indiana.

The wonderful growth of Chicago and the demand for outlying lands for manufacturing sites has developed these investments beyond the most sanguine expectations even of their sagacious owner. Turning his attention at the proper time to the improvment, subdivision and sale of these lands, he has profited immensely by his enterprise, and East Chicago and Whiting, are towns which are indebted to him in a large measure for their existence. Of the vast body of lands of which he was the owner some years since, he still retains something like fifteen hundred acres, a veritable principality in value. The lands occupied by the Standard Oil Company at Whiting, Indiana, on which are now located industries employing over four thousand men, were a part of Mr. Forsyth's big farm, and many other subdivisions have been made, which promise to develop into equally prosperous business centers.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

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LEADING LAWYERS AND JURISTS.

HARVEY D. HADLOCK.

HARVEY DEMING HADLOCK, a jurist, who, still in the prime of life, has already attained conspicuous success in his profession, traces his ancestry through several lines to early Pilgrim stocks. He stands in the seventh generation from the founder of the Hadlock name in America, Nathaniel Hadlock, who came from Wapping, England, and purchased an estate in Charlestown, Massachusetts Colony, in 1638. From this place he removed fifteen years later and became one of the founders of the town of Lancaster Mass. His son Nathaniel is mentioned in Felt's "History of Salem" as having been fined and punished for declaring "that he could receive no profit from Mr. Higginson's preaching, and that in persecuting the Quakers the government was guilty of innocent blood." Through his paternal grandmother Mr. Hadlock is descended from Thomas Manchester, one of the earliest settlers [1642] of Portsmouth, Rhode Island; and by his mother, Mary Ann Stanwood, from Philip Stanwood, one of the early settlers of Gloucester, Mass. He is fifth in line of descent from Job Stanwood, the soldier mentioned in history, and Martha Bradstreet, his second wife.

Early in the present century his grand-father, Samuel Hadlock, acquired by purchase the greater part of "Little Cranberry Island" one of a group forming the town of Cranberry Isles, in Hancock County, Maine. He engaged in shipping and merchandise by which business he amassed a large estate. His son Edwin, as master of a vessel, followed the sea till the year 1853, when he succeeded to his father's business.

Harvey Deming, youngest son of Edwin Hadlock and Mary Ann Stanwood, was born at Cranberry Isles, Maine, October 7th, 1843. He received his early educational training from his mother, a woman of superior intellectual gifts and culture. Later he attended the schools of his native town, till in 1856 his parents removed to Bucksport, Me., where he enjoyed the advantages of the East Maine Conference Seminary. Here, and under private instructions, he pursued an advanced course of classical study, which he supplemented with a partial scientific course at Dartmouth College. He began the study of law in the office of Hon. Samuel F. Humphrey, at Bangor, Me., and under the kindly supervision of ex-Governor Edward Kent, then one of the justices of the Supreme Judicial Court. Early in 1865, he was admitted to the bar of that court, and later to practice in the Federal Court of the district. The following year he went to New Orleans, where he pursued the study of civil and maritime law, under the direction of the eminent jurist, Christian Roselins. Within the three succeeding years, he was admitted to practice in the courts, State and Federal, of Nebraska and New York, and

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Harvey D. Hadlock

1892.

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as attorney and councellor of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. He thus began to be known and to have business in four states, but mainly had practiced at Bucksport and Boston. To the former place he returned in 1871, especially to promote the locating and opening of a railroad from Bangor to eastern points by way of Bucksport. During the ten years following he continued to reside at Bucksport, and the construction of the Bucksport and Bangor railroad being assured, he became a director, as also counsel for the corporation.

Within this period he was employed in the most important cases tried in the State of Maine, in conduct of which he established his reputation as an eloquent advocate and profound jurist, earning for himself a leading place among the ablest lawyers of the state. From 1881 to 1887 he resided in Portland where at the Cumberland bar he maintained and enhanced the high reputation already acquired as a successful practitioner in causes involving railroad and other corporation interests, in questions of patents, and maritime law, as well as in the management of criminal cases. It was said that he tried more causes and was capable of performing more work than any other lawyer in the city. Many of his clients were residents of adjoining states, and he was employed in various professional matters.

Among the multitudes of suits in which Mr. Hadlock has been employed we may mention the marriage case of Sawyer et al. *vs.* Oakman et al. argued in the United States Circuit Court for the Southern District of New York at the October term of 1869; homicide cases such as Commonwealth *vs.* Bartholemew, Boston, 1873; State *vs.* Smith, Ellsworth, Me. 1876; U. S. *vs.* Kelly, Portland, 1884; State *vs.* O'Hara, Portland, 1886; railroad cases such as Spofford, petitioner for certiorari, *vs.* Bucksport Bangor Railroad Company and the railroad commissioners of Maine, 1875; and Deasy, administrator, *vs.* Grand Trunk Railroad Company, U. S. Circuit Court, Maine, 1883; consular cases such as Gould *vs.* Staples, U. S. Circuit Court 1881; malpractice cases such as Dr. Leach's, Mass., 1891; bankrupt cases such as Treat & Co., pending in the District of Maine, from 1868 to 1889; will cases, such as the Jenness will case, Concord, N. H., October, 1892. Concerning the argument for the contestants in that case, it was said by the press and those present to have been the ablest ever listened to in the old Merriman County Court house; trademark cases such as Davis et al. *vs.* Jones et al, U. S. Circuit Court, New York, 1891; patent cases such as Hammerschleg *vs.* Spaulding, U. S. Circuit Court, Boston, 1888; the National Needle Company *vs.* the Howe Sewing Machine Company, Supreme Court, U. S., October term, 1889; Ruel Philbrook, trustees *vs.* the city Haverhill and eleven other Massachusetts cities, U. S. Supreme Court, in which the application of State statutes of limitation as a bar to patent suits is denied and for the first time brought to the highest tribunal for decision.

The case of Campbell *vs.* the Mayor, Alderman and Commonalty of the City of New York is of national im-

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portance as it affects every city which used steam fire engines from 1864 to 1881 and has been for many years before the courts. In 1877 a suit was brought against the city of New York, and four years later a decree was entered sustaining the validity of the patent. In 1884 all rights in said suit, as well as all existing rights under said patent were assigned to Ruel Philbrook, trustee, and in 1885 he commenced an action in said suit against the city. In the following year Mr. Hadlock, then residing at Portland, Me., was called into the suit as senior counsel for the complainant, for the purpose of conducting the accounting. Various attempts have since been made to deprive Mr. Philbrook of his title to the suit and control of it by the assignors through the assignees of a bankrupt assignor of a half interest in the patent, also by suit in the Supreme Court of New York to vacate the assignment altogether. These attempts Mr. Hadlock successfully resisted; but pending an action by him, instituted for the purpose of confirming the trustee in complete control, the decision by the United States Supreme Court in the case of Andrews *vs.* Hovey, known as "the Driven Well Case," gave occasion for the city through its Counsel, on the ground that the Campbell case against the Mayor fell within the rule enunciated in this decision, to secure a rehearing and a dismissal of the original bill of complaint, which was granted by Judge Wheeler of the United States Circuit Court. Nevertheless, Mr. Hadlock obtained a further hearing presenting additional evidence, and the entire case came on for argument before Judge Wheeler in July, 1891. The closing argument by Mr. Hadlock for Mr. Philbrook, trustee and complainant, occupied three days in an exhaustive and masterly discussion of the subject in all its principles and bearings, with result, that Mr. Hadlock's construction and application of the law as involved in the Driven Well Case was adopted, and the validity of the patent sustained. In the September following the decree was settled in the case and in December the continuation of the accounting was resumed. The case involves several millions.

Mr. Hadlock's legal career has been characterized by the closest application. Case has succeeded case without intermission, and day has succeeded day of unremitting and ununwearied industry. A wonderful vitality and power of recuperation, a remarkable vigor of body as well as of brain enables him to do this without unnatural strain or depression, and with the most brilliant results. As a rule he works without assistants, rarely takes notes, but safely trusts to his unfailing memory. Weighing nearly three hundred pounds, with a chest measuring fifty-two inches, and standing almost six feet high, with a head measuring twenty-four inches, and having an amiable and generous face, his is a commanding figure even among great men. Through his breadth and clearness of intellect, retentive memory and force of will, his arguments exhibit a wealth of accurate detail and masterful logic. Though large in brain and body, he is compact and elastic in fiber, and works easily with every faculty active and vigilant. His voice is rich, full and flexible. This power and success

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with both court and jury, is what we should be led to expect from the combination of industry with such strong and ample faculties.

Since 1887 he has resided in Boston, at the same time maintaining an office in New York City, while the range of his practice extends beyond the state and federal courts of New England and New York, embracing cases of great moment pending in the Supreme Court of the United States.

On January 26, 1865, Mr. Hadlock was married to Miss Alexene L. Goodell of Searsport, Maine. They have two children, Inez and Webster. They were sadly bereaved in the death of their eldest son, Harvey Deming Hadlock Jr., at about fifteen years of age by accidental shooting while handling a revolver. Their summer residence is a delightful place in the picturesque and historic village of Bucksport in their native Pine Tree State.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

Probably no one of the younger generation of men born in the Northwestern States is more thoroughly familiar with the events of those days when Washington and Oregon formed one vast territory—the Northwestern, a terra incognita to the Eastern world, and broadly generalized by the poet Bryant as "where rolls the Oregon" —than J. McL. Harvey of Fairhaven, the grandson of Dr. J. McLoughlin, the first governor of the Hudson Bay Company in the Northwest country. In this way he is a sort of residuary legatee of the historical lore connected with the early days of the Northwest Territory.

The story of Dr. McLoughlin's career as related by Mr. Harvey naturally acquires a deeper sense of interest from the fact of his relationship to him, the foremost man of his time in this part of the world, and although the principal events of his life are already a matter of record, their (so to speak) *ex cathedra* recital renders them well worthy of repetition. His account is as follows:

"From Fort William on the shore of Lake Superior, where he had previously resided, Dr. McLoughlin, who was born in Canada, near Quebec, of Scotch parentage, first made the long and perilous journey through the virgin forests and unexplored wilderness down the Saskatchawan and across the Rockies to the head waters of the Columbia, down which great river he sailed in Indian canoes until the settlement then known as Fort George, but now as Astoria, was reached during the year 1824. This was then the headquarters of the John Jacob Astor Fur company, the present name of the city being of course derived from this fact, of which company he had been appointed local governor.

"A bitter feud had for some time existed between the two rival English fur companies, the Hudson Bay

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and the Northwest, and skirmishes, attended often with loss of life, were frequent between their employes. Shortly after his arrival in Fort George, however, the Hudson Bay company bought out the Astor company and effected an amicable consolidation with the Northwestern, making Dr. McLoughlin governor of the entire Northwest district.

"Instructed by the directors of his company to make his headquarters still nearer to the shore line of the Pacific, the recently accredited governor made a careful exploration of the coast and in 1826 selected a site where now the city of Vancouver stands, calling the fortification which he caused to be erected there Fort Vancouver. For many years this remained the headquarters of the company and hither came the English, bearing supplies for the numerous posts of the great organization.

"There was comparatively little opposition to the white settlers on the part of the Indians, who believed that in the great territory there was room for the paleface as well as the red man, and the policy pursued by Dr. McLoughlin was one of strict equity, punishment being inflicted in the same measure upon the guilty, irrespective of color. By this course he gained the respect and friendship of the surrounding tribes.

"In one instance, however, from some long-forgotten cause, a serious misunderstanding arose between the Indians and the fur traders, and preparations were made by the former for the capture of the fort and the massacre of its garrison. The plans were well laid. A detachment of perhaps a dozen Indians was to leave the main band, which was to be ambushed in the vicinity, and proceeding to the fort should gain entrance ostensibly for trading purposes. While in the fort some of the number were to feign sudden illness and remain to be cared for by the garrison surgeon while their companions returned to where the major portion of the band were concealed. During the night those who remained behind were to unbar the gates of the stockade and admit the warriors without and no white man was to be left to tell the tale of craft and perfidy. Through a friendly chief, however, the details of the plot were communicated to Dr. McLoughlin, and when, as arranged, the trading party arrived at the fort they were promptly taken in custody, while word was sent to the ambushed band that if they did not disperse immediately and peacefully the cannon of the fort in the embrasures at the corner of the stockade would be trained upon them. As Dr. McLoughlin had a reputation for meaning business when he spoke, no further hint was necessary and this ended the most serious trouble he had with the natives.

"While Fort Vancouver was the distributing post for all the stations of the Hudson Bay company, communication with the mother country was had but once a year by sailing vessels, and once a year also the express and mail arrived overland from Canada. Each of these occasions was made a time of especial festivity and the celebrations were frequently prolonged several days by the members of the isolated garrison."

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* * *

In Hawthorne's posthumous novel, "Septimius Felton," the hero exchanges shots with a young British officer, in the course of the desultory warfare carried on upon the glorious day of Concord and Lexington. The Englishman falls mortally wounded, and dies soon afterward, and his grave is dug by the victor; whence, for the latter's benefit and to promote the characteristic and weird purpose of the novelist, proceeds a peculiar flower which shall furnish Septimius with the desired elixir of life, and make him immortal, he having a very strong objection to death.

Such an encounter, what may be called an instantaneous duel, did actually take place on that memorable day, but with fatal results to both parties. The name of the American was James Heywood, of Acton, Mass., and to commemorate this event the state of Massachusetts co-operated with the town of Acton, in 1852. in erecting a monument, a granite shaft suitably inscribed. The representative from Acton in the legislature at the time, in advocating the measure gave the following account of the historic incident: "At Fiske's Hill, in Lexington, they had, as some thought, the severest encounter of all the way. The road ran around the base of a steep, thick wooded hill. James Heywood, who had been active and foremost all the way after the British had passed on, came down from the hill and was aiming for a well of water—the same well is still to be seen at the two-story Dutch roofed, red house on the right from Concord to Lexington, not two miles from the old meeting-house. As he passed the end of that house he spied a British soldier still lingering behind the main body plundering. The Briton also saw him and ran to the front door to cut him off. Lifting up his loaded musket, he exclaims: 'You are a dead man!' Heywood immediately said, 'So are you!' They both fired and both fell. The Briton was shot dead, and Heywood mortally wounded, the ball entering his side through this hole (holding up a pierced powder horn), driving the splinters into his body. He lived eight hours. Before he died his father asked him the question, 'Are you sorry that you turned out?' 'Father hand me my powder horn and bullet pouch. I started with one pound of powder and forty balls. You see what is left of them (he had used all but two or three), you see what I have been about, I am not sorry I turned out.'"

The old powder horn with the suggestive bullet-hole is sacredly perserved by the town. An old slate stone was placed originally at the head of Heywood's grave, but now it lies on one side of the ground upon which the monument is erected. The following lines are inscribed upon it:

This monument may unknown ages tell
How brave young Heywood like a hero fell
When fighting for his countrie's liberty
Was slain, and here his body now doth lye—
He and his foe were by each other slain,
His victims blood with his ye earth did stain.
Upon ye field, he was with victory crowned
And yet must yield his breath upon that ground.
He expressed his hope in God before his death.
After his foe had yielded up his breath.
Oh, may his death a lasting witness lye
Against oppressor's bloody cruelty.

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* * *

When the Rev. Cotton Mather was engaged upon his monumental work, the *Magnalia Christi Americana*, he had the advantage of using a history which is inaccessible to investigators of this day. This was the *Annals of God's Blessing of N. E.*, written by Samuel Stow. It does not appear that this composition ever got so far as the printing press, and Mather consulted the original manuscript. Through him we learn of the existence of this history, for one; and one other proof thereof we possess, inasmuch as the court of election held at Hartford in May, 1695, took occasion to put into a resolution their thanks to the author for "his great pains in preparing a History of the Annals of New England." Their gratitude unfortunately did not materialize into an offer to bear the expense of publication. It would almost seem as if the author himself despaired entirely of his production being ever reduced to book form, for he tells some one that his manuscript was arranged in "Decads" each of which was composed of a number of sheets tied together with a ring, or loop, through one of the corners, whereby they might be suspended out of the reach of rats and mice.

This was not Mr. Stow's only venture in the field of literature; another and equally unsuccessful one, was a work entitled *Ten Essays for Conversion of the Jews*. This was placed by the author in the hands of Judge Sewall, of diary fame. The latter sent it to Nathaniel Higginson, at London, with the expectation that some wealthy patron might be found who would defray the cost of publication in return for some fulsome dedication, as was the way of doing in those good old times. Such patron was not found, however. The following details of the author's life have recently been placed before public:

Samuel Stow was born about 1622, probably in Kent. He may have been related to the English annalist or chronicler, John Stow. With his five brothers and sisters and their parents, John and Elizabeth Stow, he arrived in New England in 1634. He was graduated at Harvard in 1645, and in 1653 went to Middletown, Conn., where he preached for a number of years, but was not ordained, as no church was gathered until November 4, 1668, when Rev. Nathaniel Collins was ordained the first pastor of the place. For several years previous to this event there seems to have been a "troublesome difference" between Mr. Stow and the people of Middletown, or some of them, which the general court more than once took notice of. During King Philip's war he supplied the place of some ministers employed in the country service, for which the governor and council voted him an allowance. Subsequently he preached at Simsbury for about four years, but was not settled there. He returned to Middletown about 1685, where he continued until his death, May 8, 1704, at the age of eighty-two.

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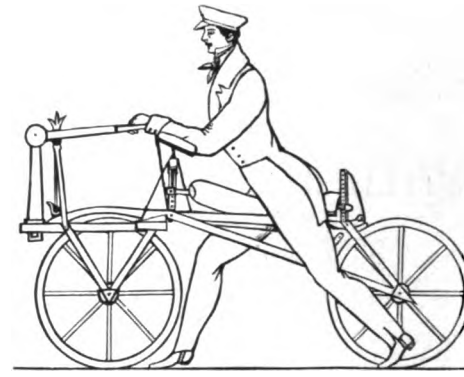

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THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER, 1893.

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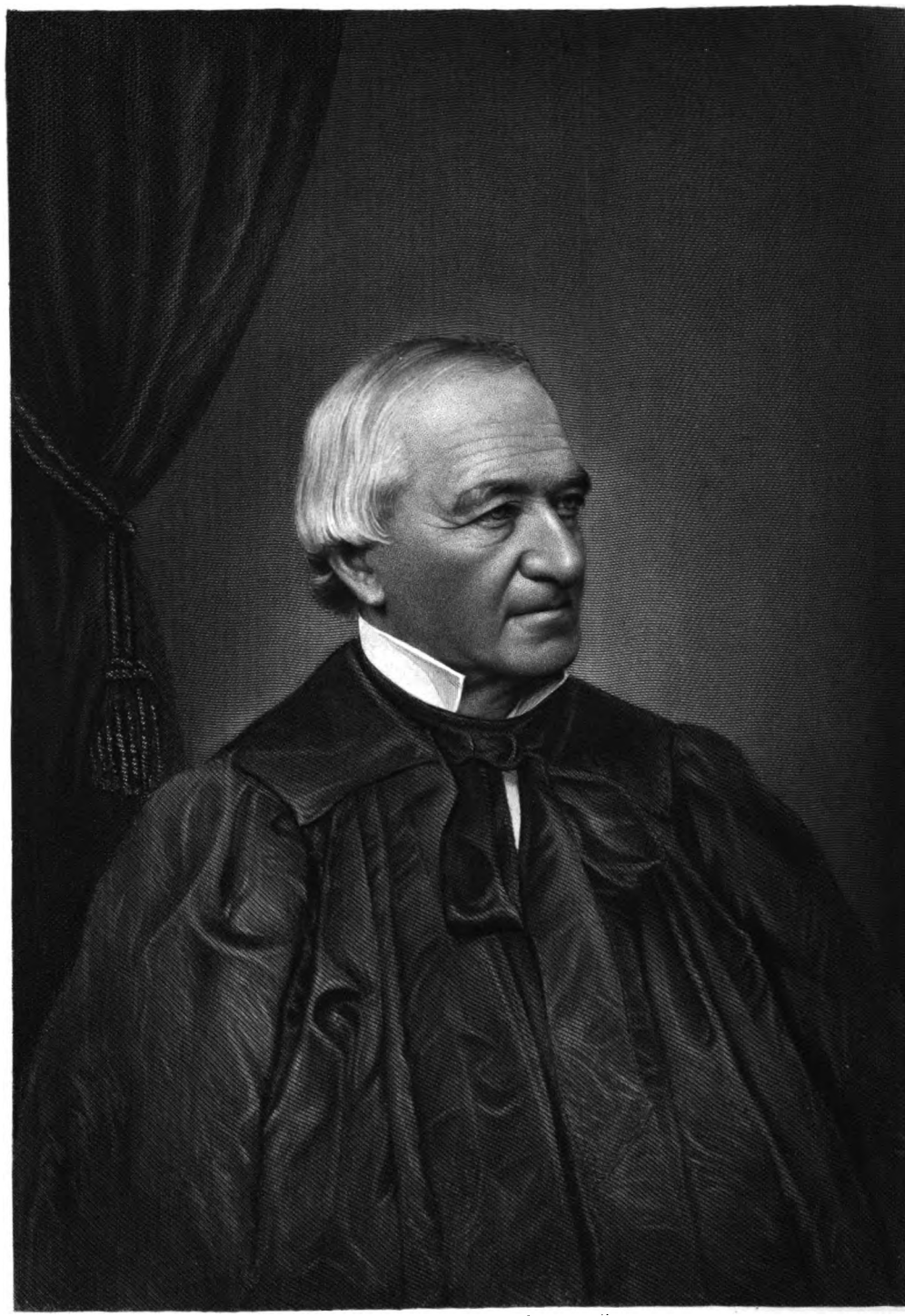

Joseph P. Bradley

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THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE.

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ADMINISTRATION OF GEORGE CLINTON 1743–1753.

HIS CONTEST WITH THE ASSEMBLY.

THE ten years that comprise George Clinton's administration form a unique period in the history of New-York City. We find during this time the province undergoing a great constitutional revolution, chiefly brought about by the efforts of her most illustrious citizens, not acting in a municipal sphere, but as her representatives in the provincial assembly. In this period, when the gravest questions of foreign policy were to depend on the will of the assembly controlled by the city politicians, we shall find them all disregarding the exceptional and ideal to grasp at the regular and politically practical, with such tenacity that ward politics and ale-house brawls were to have a far-reaching effect on the government of the province. The city so completely fulfilled the function of being the capital of the province, that the course of its history is to be sought for in the political history of the province. The rise of the power of the provincial assembly has already been observed. The constitution of New-York grew from a gradual encroachment of Englishmen on the arbitrary claims of English Governors. In the course of the half-century following the English revolution of 1688, the cosmopolitan element in New-York had first created an American people, a people which claimed self-government, legally as British subjects, but in fact because they were conscious of its ability to invoke and maintain the higher right of progressive civilization. The claim of a higher right than that granted by law, when it is not the consequence of victorious armed violence, is always the outcome of a crude feeling of might diffused over a large mass of men who naturally fall in the hands of a few leaders.

In Cosby's time permanent parties arose, not because people were worse or better than before, but because, after the contentions that led to Zenger's trial, there was no reason why as much honor and profit could not be had out of opposing the English governors as out of assisting them. But the principal reason why the party feuds of Cosby's time were liable to be perpetuated was because they did not arise from a religious or national antipathy, but from motives of pure political expediency, which angered the beaten party so much that they

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claimed to represent a principle, and soon persuaded themselves and their friends of their sincerity. Thus Lewis Morris, William Smith, James Alexander, and Cadwallader Colden, the representatives of the opposition to Cosby, formed one party, while James De Lancey and the supporters of Cosby formed another party of placemen, office-holders, and their counterparts of grumblers. Under Governor Clinton's predecessor, Lieutenant-Governor Clarke, the practice of passing the government supply annually, so as to subjugate the governor, had grown to some fixedness, and after a most harassing struggle, in the midst of threats of war from the French and the desertion of the Six

Nations, came the news of the appointment of a new chief magistrate.[1] Finally, in September, 1843, the long-expected governor, Commodore George Clinton, arrived in New-York, accompanied by his wife and a family of young children. From the landing-steps his progress through the town was signalized by great marks of public favor, as the people expected to find a leader in future troubles against the French, and a pacificator of partizan discord. For in the interval between his appointment and his arrival, people had had ample opportunity to find out who the new governor was, what he had done, and why he had been sent out by his Majesty George II.

George Clinton was the second son of the Earl of Lincoln and uncle of the then earl, a relative by marriage of the mighty and incompetent Duke of Newcastle. By profession a sailor, he had been made captain in 1716, and had commanded a squadron since 1732, when he was commissioned as governor of Newfoundland and commodore. Five years later he transferred his flag to the Mediterranean fleet, and served there till July 4, 1741, when he was commissioned to be governor of New-York. This position he owed to the protection of the duke, who also secured him the rank of rear-admiral of the Red-Squadron in December, 1743. Although the prime motive of his coming to New-York had been the hope of bettering his fortune by having an extra salary, his career had fitted him with the desire to do thoroughly and well the things he had entered on. He does not appear either to have been a well-trained administrator, or to have had a very large amount of learning, but he did have a good will, and apparently inflexible doggedness in resolve, and the rare power of obtaining the greatest amount of work from his subordinates. His early command had left entirely undeveloped any possibilities of conciliating men, and had brought about a self-reliant bluntness and force that utterly unfitted him to cope with politicians or to make his friends at home understand the phases of the various troubles he labored under here. He was eminently self-sufficient, except in regard to business, where however, he always knew what

[1] John West, Lord De-La-Warr, is stated by some writers to have been appointed Governor of New-York about this time. He may have been, but we find no sufficient authority for the statement.

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was wanted, and then relied on his subordinates for the proper execution. He was said to be very eager for making money and to have taken his repose, not in colonial society, but with his family or his friends over a jovial bottle. Such was the man who was to govern the province of New-York, and who was to re-assert the royal prerogative in its fullest extent, to whom not only the great problem of the management of the Six Nations of Indians was intrusted, but who, as governor of the great province of New-York, was to check the French in the north and west and to raise the commerce of the city.

The fundamental disadvantage he labored under was a great naivete in regard to men's motives, and an irrefutable belief that men as political bodies, were capable of caring for good motives and remembering favors to the individual. Coupled with this was a desire to find some favorite, who would be his dependent and do much of his work, and whose ambition he could satisfy by giving him that repose he himself so earnestly longed for. That this could not be he soon learned from his experience with Chief Justice De Lancey. On him he at first relied implicitly, and was deluded into appointing him practically for life, by giving him on September 14, 1744, a commission during good behavior, instead of his former revokable commission. The story goes that on June 6, 1746, the governor and the chief justice had an altercation over a bottle, and that henceforth the chief justice swore vengeance. How he obtained it will appear in the course of this history. The powers under which Governor Clinton was to rule the province were contained in his commission. This was published on the day of his arrival, first to his counciland then to the people. Its main distinction from the previous commission was that it separated New Jersey from New-York and placed New Jersey beyond his power. The aim of his commission—New-York's constitution for the time—was to ask very little specific and nothing new, but to insist strongly on the restoration of the exercise of the royal prerogative in the matter of money bills, which had been lost during Clark's administration.

NEW OR MIDDLE DUTCH CHURCH.

The political people of the province were chiefly, or only, the freeholders who had qualified by taking the various required oaths to the king. These elected the assembly, who with the appointed council and governor formed the legislature of limited powers, since all assembly bills must pass the governor and council, and then were liable to disallowance by the king in council. The power of convoking the assembly was lodged in the governor with the advice of the council, but executive acts, as ad-

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journing, proroguing, and dissolving the assembly, rested entirely with the governor. The governor, by custom, did not sit in the council when it was part of the legislature, that duty devolving on the lieutenant-governor or the senior councilor by commission; yet as an administrative or judicial body the governor formed a part of the council, the prototype in this of the "Council of Appointment and Revision" of the first State constitution.

At the outset he was advised by De Lancey and the prominent people he met, to dissolve the sitting assembly. Although then he followed the chief justice's advice, afterward he claimed that this had been done to rid De Lancey of the speaker. So on September 27, 1743, he dissolved the assembly and called a new one the same day. There were no party struggles, as only seven men were not returned. During this first session De Lancey became indispensable to Clinton, and when, later, disunion had entered into their relations, the governor drew up a long account of the doings of the De Lancey "faction" who might be designated as the New-York City regency. The justification of this appellation will appear, as soon as we have heard Admiral Clinton's complaint:

I must inform your Lordships that the chief strength this Faction has gained proceeded from, I must confess, an imprudent Act of my own in giving Mr. DeLancey a commission to be Chief Justice of this Province during his good behaviour; this has given him the greatest influence, as no man can think himself safe from his power when the ambition, the violence, and obstinacy of his temper is well known. A governour they expect can remain with them but a few years, but the power of this Man they think is entailed upon them; whatever reason there may be for making the Judges' Commissions in England, in this manner, the same reason may not extend to the plantations, tho' I was made to believe that they did; but the inconveniences which may arise from it may be incomparably greater, as it is possible that a Chief Justice in England can not obtain such influence over the Nation as a Chief Justice may over this Province, where the number of Men of Knowledge is very inconsiderable, and by uniting with the men of politics, power and wealth make it impossible to find anyone to accuse, try or convict him. . . The Chief Justice soon convinced me of my error, for before that Commission was granted, he on all occasions, shewed himself ready to assist me with his advice and with what influence he had, in order to make my administration easy to me, and which I have now reasons to believe he only did thereby to induce me to grant this Commission, by which he expects to secure to himself that Power which from his natural ambition he has always aimed at, for as soon as he had obtained it, he put himself at the head of the Faction, whose views were to distress me in the administration and thereby to compel me in effect to put it into their hands, and on this occasion I must remark . . . that the uneasiness and distraction in government affairs in Mr. Cosby's Administration arose from Mr. De Lancey's ambition to be Chief Justice and that ever since he has been in power continual schemes have been formed to weaken the authority and power of every Governor in the administration and to alter the Constitution of his Government as will appear from an attentive consideration of the acts of the general Assembly in Mr. Clark's administration and since my arrival.[1]

It may be questioned whether any system save the then prevailing method of favoritism, by which a man

Who, having lost his credit, pawned his rent,
Is therefore fit to have a government,

would have tolerated a governor who

[1] "Documents relating to Colonial History of New-York," 6: 356, 357.

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was forced to give himself such a striking testimony of political incompetency, ignorance of mankind, and general inability to dissociate his personal hatreds from the claims for the restoration of the governor's prerogatives. For if ever any governor was barred from bringing forward these claims, it was Governor Clinton, who had from his arrival in New-York endeavored to feather his nest and build up a court party. On November 8, 1743, the newly elected assembly met, and owing to the imminence of war was recommended to provide for the defense of the province, for the presents (or tribute) to the Six Nations, and for the governor's civil list. During this session, which lasted till December 17, all these subjects received consideration, and in June, 1744, the governor asked the board of trade to have the various acts he transmitted ratified. Many years later they drew up this memorandum concerning them: "By these acts the support of Government was limited to one year and the particular salaries affixed to each Officer by name and not to the office, whereby not only the disposal of public money is placed in the hands of the Assembly, but also the nomination of Officers and the ascertaining their salaries, and it is worthy of notice, that . . . there is over and above Mr. Clinton's salary as Governor (fifteen hundred pounds besides six hundred and fifty pounds as fees and eight hundred pounds for the Indians) an allowance to him of one thousand pounds, as a reward for his solicitation in behalf of the province, and for the expense and loss of time occasioned thereby: Mr. Clinton . . . appears to have been very solicitous, that these Acts should have his Majesty's confirmation."

We may be sure that the innuendo of the English board was also made by the New-York assembly. Yet during the period before the strife between governor and assembly had reached its height, Clinton was anxious to carry out the greater problems of his province. His incessant calls on the assembly for fortifications at the north and west bore fruit, his visits to the Indians revealed the corruption of the Albany Indian commissioners, who consequently coalesced with the city politicians against him, while he richly earned the thanks of the Massachusetts General Court for the aid he gave in the reduction of Louisburg. After much discussion he finally had been able to send eighteen cannon (for the transport of which the assembly refused to pay), and did very much to raise funds and provide stores for the New England troops in their glorious undertaking, although New-York was in the main apathetic to these far-reaching plans, its citizens being more interested in privateering, seizing any ship they could find for contraband till a strict order came not to interfere with the Dutch carrying-trade. The prizes brought to New-York increased the prosperity, especially as through Clinton's intervention the custom officers were prohibited from raising duties on captures and prizes. Commodore (afterward Sir Peter) Warren, De Lancey's brother-in-law, brought in the first capture.

This Commodore Warren was one of those indefatigable and nervous spirits who did such wonders at Louisburg, and it is with particular

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pride that his achievement should be remembered in a history of New-York City, as he was the only prominent New-Yorker that contributed to Massachusetts' greatest colonial achievement. As commander of the blockading squadron Commodore Warren captured the French relief ship Vigilant in sight of Louisburg, which brought about its fall. For this he was knighted, and became of note not only in English maritime affairs, but

Anne Grant

also in New-York politics. His brother-in-law, Chief Justice De Lancey, had early in Clinton's administration procured his appointment to the council, and henceforth he was of course of the greatest aid to the faction, although his nephew, the great Indian manipulator William Johnson, was to become Clinton's most efficient manager among the natives. Warren, however, was soon led to dabble in New-York politics very effectively, for he had the very greatest influence at home, as the English government gave him almost the entire credit for the reduction at Louisburg. His private secretary, Robert Charles, was appointed agent for the New-York assembly in London, with instructions to follow Sir Peter Warren in all things; and this he did so well that while Clinton, who had never recognized the agent paid and appointed by the assembly without his authorization, was flooding the board of trade with letters asking for the recall of De Lancey's commission as chief justice, his brother-in-laws's influence procured him the commission as lieutenant-governor of New-York (1747). Now this was in truth a great triumph for De Lancey, who did not hesitate to tell the governor to his face that through the Archbishop of Canterbury (his former University tutor) and Sir Peter, his brother-in-law, he had a greater influence in England than Clinton. The triumph was all the greater for the faction, as by it they could overcome all Tories of Colden's stamp.

There is good reason not to put too explicit belief in the statement Clinton sent to England, as to the origin of the disturbances in his province. To judge entirely from its contents, there would seem to have been a great disillusion of Clinton as to the merits of De Lancey. According to the historian Smith, whose authority has prevailed till now, this arose from a quarrel between the governor and the chief justice, when both were heated by wine, while it appears to us that deeper causes must have been at work before this event could so in-

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fluence parties; and, inasmuch as no statement regarding the estrangement is consistent with itself, we are reduced to drawing our own conclusions, greatly regretting that no statement of the De Lancey side appears. According to Clinton's version of the case, the trouble between the chief justice and himself was the entire cause of the difficulty he had with the assembly. This the governor would have us believe followed soon after his error of granting the chief justiceship practically for life. As this commission was granted in September, 1744, and we find the assembly even then trying to take the appointing power from the governor, we can say that this plan did not originate with De Lancey, but that he very probably interposed, and had the assembly recede from the position it then took (October 9, 1744). The fact is that there was an organized opposition to Clinton in the assembly on the part of those who were trying to secure the patronage of the appointments, and who in most cases coincided with those who may on principle have believed that the revenue ought to be supplied by an annual vote. The assembly, in their representation of the difficulties between themselves and the governor, claimed that up to "that memorable day of June 6, 1746," on which Clinton told the legislature of the necessity of attacking Canada, there existed "perfect good understanding between the several branches at that time," which "may evidently appear from the perusal of your Excellency's speeches, the addresses of Council and Assembly, and your Excellency's answer to both." Soon after this, antagonism arose because Clinton put his trust in Cadwallader Colden, who was heartily obnoxious to De Lancey and his friends, such as Mayor Paul Richard, and Daniel Horsmanden, and the rest of the former supporters of Cosby. The first change effected by the new regime was shown in the affair at Saratoga. In the blame to be attached to this massacre Clinton and the assembly vied with one another in recriminations, and both are to blame; but Clinton the more so because, besides incompetency, he used bad politics. Instead of backing the Albany Dutch Indian commissioners, who

THE WARREN HOUSE.

had not only the support of the assembly, but enjoyed also the prestige of having for several generations retained the confidence of the Five Nations, Clinton pushed forward that remarkable Englishman, William Johnson, Warren's nephew. Yet withal he failed to obtain Warren's support at the English court, and did not separate the favorite of the English ministry from De Lancey.

While Clinton was withholding De Lancey's commission as lieutenant-governor, in hopes of securing this office for Colden, Warren and De

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Lancey for four years kept the governor in constant dread of being superseded by Warren, whose influence at court was portrayed to Clinton in such vivid colors as to constantly force him into a contradictory state of mind whether he should return home or brave it out.

MOMUMENT TO WARREN, WESTMINSTER ABBEY.[1]

If he stayed he might be superseded and have no ship to return in; if he resigned then he must commission De Lancey; and rather than do that Clinton remained in the province. In June, 1751, he claims to have heard of the publication of Warren's commission in April; and, as he desired to return home, all the old stories of the climate and his weakened health and his poverty were again told to the secretary of state. Warren died in July, 1752, and till the news of this arrived in New-York Clinton did not feel at ease, for the idea of leaving New-York in the complete control of the faction, who might be able to substantiate charges of malfeasance in office, caused however, by their niggardliness in paying for supplies, affected Clinton unfavorably.

The origin of the De Lancey quarrel has been shown; the attachment of the great Albany faction to the city members arose from the desire to control Indian affairs. This had been of more or less importance, as the connivance of the liquor-sellers, who debauched both the Six Nations and the French, was profitable to the Dutch, who also grew rich by carrying on a brisk trade with the Canadians and their Indians in spite of war. As this had driven the French to attack the northeastern settlements, the growing sympathy between Governor Shirley of Massachusetts and Clinton is explicable, as both had in view the great object of restoring the prerogative and taking Canada from France. To accomplish this a series of congresses of the English colonial governors on the continent had been

[1] "Sacred to the Memory of Sir Peter Warren, Knight of the Bath, Vice-Admiral of the Red Squadron of the British Fleet, and Member of Parliament for the City and Liberty of Westminster. He derived his descent from an antient Family of Irland; his Fame and Honours from his Virtues and Abilities. How eminently these were displayed, with what Vigilance and Spirit they were exerted in the various, Services wherein he had the Honour to Command and the Happiness to Conquer will be more properly recorded in the Annals of Great Britain. On this Tablet Affection with Truth must say, that deservedly esteemed in private Life, and universally renowned for his publick Conduct, the judicious and gallant Officer possessed all the amiable qualities of the Friend, the Gentleman and the Christian. But the Almighty, whom alone he feared, and whose gracious protection he had often experienced, was pleased to remove him from a Life of Honour, to an Eternity of Happiness, on the 29th day of July, 1752, in the 49th year of his Age. Susannah, his afflicted Wife, caused this monument to be erected." (Inscription.)

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NEW YORK IN 1746.

This view is copied from the original presented to the New-York Society Library in 1848. It is entitled "A South Prospect of ye Flourishing City of New-York in the Province of New-York, North America." It is six feet six inches in length, and twenty-eight inches in width. The legend in the center of the illustration is as follows: "To his Excellency, George Clinton, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the Province of New-York and Territories thereon depending, This South Prospect of New-York is most humbly dedicated by your excellency's most Humble and Obedient servant, Thomas Bakewell. Published March 25th, 1746."

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proposed, finally to ripen into the Albany congress of 1754.

The year 1748 aptly marks the commencement of the second period of Governor Clinton's administration, partly because he was to remain but five years more, but especially because the times and the character of the politics undergo a radical change along the lines which time had developed. In England the colonial department passed over to the energetic, honest and hard-working Duke of Bedford, in the place of the Duke of Newcastle. Bedford was resolved not only to read the American dispatches which in Newcastle's time had accumulated unread, but to heed the suggestions of the governors, who from Massachusetts to Virginia were complaining of the rebellious spirit of the colonies, and insisting on the necessity of carrying out the king's instructions, in the first instance by acts of Parliament, but also by the aid of taxation enforced by English troops. In November, 1747, Clinton's advice had been to invoke the aid of Parliament, have the king disallow all those colonial money bills, which also contained grants of paper money, and give the governor authority to issue such as might be necessary to carry on the government. For it had been especially by the use of paper money that the New-York faction had been able to pay its friends and bribe its partisans without taxing the people, and at the same time to rigidly control the appointing power. The council now was in the control of the governor, and from it he had suspended Daniel Horsmanden, De Lancey's friend, and Paul Richard and Stephen Bayard, both of whom had been mayors of New-York; while he earnestly advocated the suspension of the rest of the faction in the council, amongst them De Lancey and Philip Livingston, who, although secretary for Indian affiairs, had supported the Dutch in their neutrality with Canada and trade with the enemy. As all the members of the council had received their appointment from Clinton, his powers of management received excellent testimony, especially when his chief opponent was a man of whom he repeats the following story: "Great pains are taken in my government to disavow the king's authority, and it has been said by Mr. Oliver De Lancey, the Chief Justice's brother whom he supports in all his arrogance, that the Faction would hang three or four people and set up a government of their own—and upon the dissolution of the assembly he asked his Brother, the Chief Justice, whether affairs in the Province could not be carried on without an Assembly to which he answered, yes, if the people could be persuaded into it, but they won't care to part with their money at that rate." But the assembly was very averse to paying for any kind of services, not even for the troops whom the failure of the expedition against Canada disbanded, unpaid, before the rigor of a New York winter. In return for this harshness, the governor refused to avail himself of his long-sought-for leave of absence, continued to draw bills on the ministry, and in this way continued those practices by reason of which the assembly claimed he was unfit to handle public money.

In April, 1748, Clinton had begun his schemes with Governor Shirley of

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Massachusetts whereby the American Colonies were to send their governors to Albany to meet the Six Nations, and where at a conference, measures were to be planned by which the English ministry would be induced to interpose and suppress the turbulence of the various popular assemblies. "How often had the governor and his advisers joined in deploring 'the levelling principles of the people of New-York, and the neighborings colonies'; 'the tendencies of American legislatures to independence'; their unwarrantable presumption in 'declaring their own rights and privileges'; their ambitious efforts 'to wrest the administration from the King's officers,' by refusing fixed salaries and compelling the respective governors to annual capitulations for their support! . . . 'The inhabitants of the plantations,' they reiterated to one another and to the ministry, 'are generally educated in republican principles; upon republican principles all is conducted. Little more than a shadow of royal authority remains in the northern colonies.' Very recently the importunities of Clinton had offered the Duke of Newcastle, 'the dilemma of supporting the governor's authority or relinquishing power to a popular faction.' 'It will be impossible,' said one of his letters, which was then before the King, 'to secure this province from the enemy or from the faction within it without the assistance of regular troops, two thousand men at least. There never was so much silver in the country as at present, and the inhabitants never were so expensive in their habits of life. They, with the southern colonies, can well discharge this expense.'"[1]

When the congress met, the news of the preliminaries of the peace of 1748 put an end to the preparations for war, but the schemes for controlling the colonies were continued with increased vigor, as the real necessity for humoring the assemblies had passed away. Governor Clinton took Governor Shirley of Massachusetts with him to New-York and hoped to receive great assistance from the investigations of his colleague into the causes of the disorder in New-York, and his report thereon. That Clinton was capable of inviting the successful governor of a rival province not only to examine but to make a report (though that would be an *ex parte* statement) goes in a great measure to redeem

Clinton from the charge of being merely a puppet or an avaricious adventurer. The statements of both the governors agree in the rehearsal of the causes of the factious struggles and the impotence of the govenor, not only in administrative and political affairs, but also in the control of the most elementary military necessities; in all and everything the assembly, aided by and under the control of the New-York City faction, had usurped the government, and no remedy was possible till the power of the assembly should be checked.

By Shirley's advice Clinton had determined on making the attempt to do this systematically in New-York, and while awaiting Bedford's instructions Clinton had again summoned

[1] Bancroft "History of United States," 2: 333, 334.

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the assembly. But without a definite promise of support from England, even Clinton had learned that contention was useless. "However the present meeting has brought things to a plain issue, viz. that either His Majesty must support his authority, or the Administration of Government must be given up to the Assembly. . . . This Assembly or more properly the present faction headed by Chief Justice De Lancey will rather give up the Indians to the French and the British interest, than yield any of their claims or expectations of power; as I had gained what no former governor had, through the great interest Colonel Johnson had with the Indians viz. that they should not make peace separately with the French," and all these advantages are likely to be lost by his want of money. This had been the result of the scheme concocted with Shirley. Notwithstanding his threats of calling on parliament to interpose, the assembly summoned in October had obstinately refused to grant a revenue for the king's government for at least five years. They refused on the ground that: "From recent experience we are, fully convinced that the method of an annual support is most wholesome and salutary, and are confirmed in the opinion that the faithful representatives of the people will never depart from it." Far from changing their mind, they told Clinton that "governors are generally entire strangers to the people they are sent to govern; they seldom regard the welfare of the people otherwise than as they can make it subservient to their own particular interest; and as they know the time of their continuance in their governments to be uncertain, all methods are used, and all engines set to work, to raise estates to themselves. Should the public moneys be left to their disposition, what can be expected but the grossest misapplication, under various pretences which will never be wanting?" The consequence was that no supply bill passed the assembly, and when Clinton and Colden were without money they obtained it through the kindness of the speaker, as the faction had rigorously forbidden the passage of a five-years bill. Clinton and Colden grumbled that the province's money was handled as secret-service money, always at the disposal of the assembly; but they had to be satisfied. The assembly's control of the financial machinery was in the hands of their treasurer, who refused to be governed by Clinton or the board of trade. By a continued re-issue of paper money brought to him for redemption, he did everything in his power not only to swell the debt, but to strengthen himself. When, therefore, in November, 1749, Bedford informed Clinton of the interest the state of the province had awakened at home, the governor instantly began his lamentations over the financial mismanagement of the colony, joining to his *celerum censeo* the desirability of removing De Lancey, and the hope that the treasurer of the faction would be dismissed, and that the paper money, which was illegally re-issued, would be finally funded. In return for the charges of Clinton that the provincial assembly profited by their abuse of paper money, the faction so earnestly spread the report of Clintons maladministration and peculation that in April,

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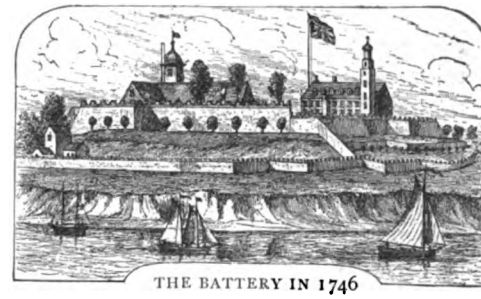
1750, the governor felt himself called on to answer. This was easy enough, for his officers had all been salaried annually by name, and the small sums allowed for contingent expenses did not furnish means of peculation; nay, more, Clinton often had advanced money for administrative purposes, with practically no hope of ever having it reimbursed; the assembly waiting for several years before they repaid their indefatigable Indian pacifier, Colonel Johnson, his outlays. Clinton for two years had received not a farthing for colonial expenses, as he had not met the assembly, and there was comparatively little to complain of. Gradually Clinton found that the English board of trade was actually reading his dispatches, and these cease to be the long and oft repeated historical sketches of the New-York factions, their encroachments on the royal prerogative, the insolence of the De Lanceys, the impudence of the councillors, and by antithesis, the robust bravery of the much maligned, deeply hated Colden, who for his attachment ought to be made lieutenant-governor.

The quarrels between Clinton and De Lancey were not always directed to political fields, and the dislike of the governor found its vent in laying bare to the world the violent character of Oliver De Lancey, the chief justice's brother. In June, 1749, he was concerned in a tavern quarrel with Dr. Alexander Calhoun, at the termination of which, Clinton affirms, he stabbed his opponent.[1] This gave Clinton a fine opportunity to particularize on the strength of the opposition to him and on the impotence of the government. He was unable to find any lawyer of ability to maintain the king's authority in De Lancey's court; and as the attorney-general, Bradley, had become incompetent through age, he wished to have him withdrawn in favor of William Smith, who was not only in every way fitted for the position, but besides was willing to prosecute the powerful De Lancey's brother, for he still cherished the enmity which dated from the time of the Zenger trial under Cosby's rule. At the time Clinton recommended the importation of judges, because the New-York judges were interested in all quarrels of account before them, and by their connections with politics and the politicians rendered the administration of justice impossible.


THE BATTERY IN 1746

The English ministry, however, did not come to any resolutions in regard to New-York. They argued that if Clinton had been able to survive it six years, he might endure it some years longer. They thought that Clinton attached great importance to the issue of paper money, and the usurpation of the governor's authority, because by both he suffered, whereas the colony had man-

[1] Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 6; 513.

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aged to survive both; and as it was impossible to change the shiftlessness of fifty years of administration in a hurry, Clinton was not supported.

In March, 1750, when the French were trying by all means in their power to seduce the Six Nations by underselling the English and by the persuasion of the priests, Clinton again pressed the Duke of Bedford for instructions, for "the King has not now one farthing of his revenue in this province at his command for the support of Government in it, though there be large sums in the treasury and which I have reason to believe, the heads of the faction can find means to make use of to support their interest." The great principle of all this escaped the governor's observation. He saw only the surface, and that, being un-English, naturally appeared bad to him. The fact that the New-York city faction managed to cajole the farmers, who may have been of non-English descent; that the De Lanceys, the most American of the city faction, were only the second generation of French immigrants; that the Dutch of Albany, who preferred to continue their Indian trade with Canada, and therefore objected to the intrusion of Colonel Johnson, had first made the great Indian confederation serviceable against France —all these things escaped Clinton, and therefore his views of the people he had come to rule over were so fundamentally wrong that the course of the faction in the assembly was undoubtedly right in a higher legality, for it was a lawfully played game of national politics.

To this fact the history of the summer of 1750 bears ample testimony. When we recall the constantly repeated tales of insubordination, mutiny, desire for independence of the chief justice, the full control of the government in the hands of a band of conspirators who mortally hated the governor and his favorite, we must wonder at the moderation of this same faction under the most aggravating circumstances. On Thursday, June 7, Colonel Ricketts, with his wife and family and friends, was sailing down the bay on his way to Elizabethtown. The boat carried a flag, which it did not strike on approaching the man-of-war Greyhound, commanded by Captain Robert Roddam, Clinton's son-in-law. As it had failed to salute the man-of-war on previous occasions, the lieutenant in charge of her resolved to enforce the admiralty rule, and fired a shot across its bows to stop it. As the first shot failed to bring it to, a second shot was fired which passed through the sail and struck a servant named Elizabeth Stebbins. The unfortunate woman was brought to New-York, and expired soon after. The assault had been committed between Governor's Island and the Battery, so that the coroner of the city claimed jurisdiction under the Montgomerie charter, and held an inquest. Captain Roddam, who had not been aboard his ship, returned and instantly put his lieutenant under arrest and sent his gunner's mate to testify at the inquest. Chief Justice De Lancey, on Ricketts' complaint, arrested the gunner's mate for murder, even before he confessed his obedience to orders in the testimony before the coroner.

This brought on an exciting controversy in which Clinton suffered

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under every disadvantage, and the chief justice, whose moderation and manly handling of political affairs never appear in so favorable a light, could not but earn glory and popularity. We can barely imagine what a fearful uproar this outrage must have called forth in the populous and compact city immediately under the guns of the fort. The fact that it was committed by Clinton's son-in-law was, according to him, taken advantage of by the faction that opposed him to create still greater prejudice against him. "A number of them met at a tavern, where the heads of the Faction have usually made their rendezvous, and Mr. Chief Justice De Lancey among them, where they staid the whole night, as I am informed, and I believe truly, to consult how to make the best use of this incident for increasing and confirming their popularity."

Clinton intended to protect the royal sailors, whom he did not wish to see "exposed to people artfully excited to tumultuousness or violent proceedings by a party or Faction." . . . "He is informed that Mr. Oliver De Lancey, Chief Justice De Lancey's brother, openly, and in all companies, and among the lower rank of people, distinguished himself, in inciting the people against the governor." If to his mind this excitement among the people was not a heartfelt outburst, but only the machination of a faction of conspirators, Clinton showed a lamentable want of insight into character, and, furthermore, a gross incompetency as a governor striving to re-establish a sinking prerogative. Now or never he should have left the faction commit an overt act of sedition, and attempted to suppress it; but he did not dare to let things go to such a point, nor did Colden, the adviser of the governor, desire it. In this case we have an admirable gauge for the veracity of the governor's reports. In vain do we read the papers of the day for the news of any tumultuous proceedings. The chief justice certainly did not do anything to stir up feeling against the governor; for if he had but one half of the power which Clinton attributed to him over the assembly and the people, and was in reality striving for independence of the government, founded on republican or leveling principles, he could not have been such a sharp schemer and let such a fine opportunity slip by to create an insurrection, either on the model of Virginius or Masaniello. Then or never was the chance for an artful demagogue to incite a people, first made frantic, to rise in revolt. To excite the people there was the royal man-of-war, able to pour its broadsides into the town. High over the town the bastions and newly repaired batteries of Fort George appeared to threaten the inhabitants. For in moments of popular excitement it would have been as easy to have led the people to forget that no guns were mounted on the city side of the fort, as it was in 1789 that the Bastile was not in a threatening state of offensive readiness. But we hear of nothing like it. Nay, more, from the calm demeanor of the chief justice it appears that he tried to treat the affair as a civil assault, which ended in murder, not as of political consequence. For Clinton claimed that Colonel Ricketts, "a hot-headed rash young man," had "de-

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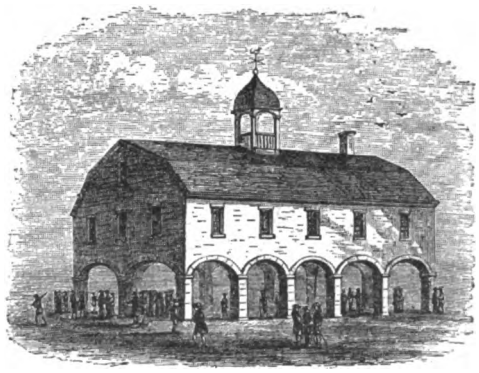
clared before he put off from our wharf, he would wear that pendant in defiance of the man-of-war, which, in all probability, did come to the lieutenant's ears that commanded on board, who had excused him, but the day before, passing close to the ship with the same pendant, as knowing it to be Colonel Ricketts' vessel." Clinton was in a very painful dilemma. As admiral of the fleet, as governor of the province, he knew that his most positive and direct duty would have been to have prevented the commitment and trial of a man-of-war's man by any other court than that of the admiralty at home. The chief justice was bound to know this also, for he held his office only by Clinton's appointment, and all powers the lat-



THE ROYAL EXCHANGE, 1752.

ter had ever possessed arose from his commission, which strictly exempted naval offenses on shipboard from the jurisdiction of his provincial courts and reserved them for the commissioners of the admiralty. For once the governor followed a dignified course, probably because he felt that anything else might harm his son-in-law, Captain Roddam, of the Greyhound. He published that part of his commission relating to offenses committed on board, or by men-of-war in service, in the "Gazette." Although the governor had not been able to wrest the gunner's mate from the hands of the chief justice, yet he made of this a charge of misdemeanor, that De Lancey had wilfully disregarded the royal commands, and had tried to borrow the crown's jurisdiction in admiralty cases, just as he had aided to usurp its executive prerogatives. As Clinton desired to leave New-York, he addressed letters to the crown lawyers, Ryder and Murray (the latter better known as Lord Mansfield), asking whether he could not let De Lancey qualify, then suspend him (for the good of the king's rule), and for the same reason appoint Colden lieutenant-governor. The law officers replied that he had better obtain the revocation of De Lancey's commission by the king.

In the mean while Clinton was awaiting orders from England to crush out the opposition and re-establish a permanent revenue for the crown, which could be controlled all the easier as the paper money was to be restrained. Yet, unless instructions came very soon, Clinton felt that he must surrender to the assembly, who in the course of two years had starved him into submission, as during that period they had not appropriated a penny of supplies. The consequence had been that Clinton had supported the royal troops who garrisoned Oswego; for without this outlay he well saw that the French, who had for two years been undermining the English influence, would seduce the six nations from their English alliance. At the end of Au-

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gust, 1750, his resources were exhausted. He had no more money, and, having waited for instructions till September, he summoned the assembly, well knowing that he must again surrender to it the prerogatives of appointment and annual supplies. For two years the governor had hoped for aid from England, during which time he had brought disastrous misery on all those dependent on their salaries for support; his obstinacy had been wasted; he surrendered to the assembly. The supplies for the past two years were supplemented, provisions for the Indians were made, the power of the assembly was again recognized to be as great as it had been before the unfortunate attempts of Clinton to curb the usurpations of the people's representatives. For by a remarkable blindness Clinton had actually tried to persuade himself that in spite of the open electioneering of the chief justice, he could carry the assembly by his partizans. As soon as the assembly met, the governor was so completely undeceived that he agreed with the speaker to carry out the faction's plans of government. As he truly says: "There are no instances I believe, where men, who have (by any means) gained power, that they willingly give it up, and much more unwillingly, when they find means at the same time to fill their own or friends' pockets thereby: My duty therefore obliges me to tell Your Grace [of Bedford] my humble opinion, that the King must enforce the authority of his own Commission or else resolve to give up the government of this province into the hands of the assembly." These last reports finally led Bedford's secretaries to draw up a very clear resume of the letters and remonstrances which both assembly and governors had, since Newcastle's regime, been pouring in on the home officers. The one tangible result of his incessant work had been the restoration of James Alexander to the council and also the appointment of Edward Holland, mayor of New-York, to the same position. During the early part of 1751 little else was done in New-York than prepare for the great Indian congress at Albany, to which Clinton had invited all the English governors from Massachusetts to South Carolina, and to which only Massachusetts, Connecticut, and South Carolina sent delegates. The New-York assembly had made such a small allowance for presents that public sentiment forced them to reconsider their action, and the speaker of the house allowed the governor an extra warrant of supply.

On his return from the congress at Albany, Clinton expected to have found a leave of absence (or recall) to England and permission to let Colden serve as lieutenant-governor. His hopes were doomed to disappointment, and he was forced to disembark his household goods from the Greyhound man-of-war and to brave the terrors of another winter. He had on several previous occasions attempted this same trick, and had on each occasion stayed here rather than give De Lancey his deferred commission as lieutenant-governor. Clinton's one aim was to undo the error he had made of exalting De Lancey. For years he had tried by every means to push the candidature of Colden for the lieutenancy, and as the success of this plan grew more and more improb-

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able he was resolved to build up against De Lancey a strong opposition by giving the places in the council to the opponents of the city faction. Although in July, 1751, this plan had not been carried out completely, yet, because it suited Clinton's side of the argument, he asks for his recall and thinks it can be sent safely. "As the faction every day decreases and the people's eyes are open, I conceive it will be of no ill consequences to leave Mr. Colden president, till his Majesty's pleasure be known, especially as Your Grace has hinted that you will not agree to Mr. Chief Justice De Lancey's being left with the Administration." Thereupon this very simple governor, who had the advantage of possessing a good heart and of supporting his friends, proceeds to again recommend Colden to the ministry's notice, and begs that the "faction may not have the pleasure to see an innocent person sunk under the load of calumny which they for that purpose have heaped upon him." While about this time the ministers were drafting additional instructions for Clinton, he was striving with all the energy of a long-nursed hatred to put his friends into the provincial council and to obtain orders sanctioning the suspension of De Lancey's friends.

Apart from the quarrels of the provincial assembly, the Indian questions were calling for a rapid solution, as the never-ending intrigues of the French to break the bulwark which the six Nations formed were gradually succeeding. On the other hand, the English had pushed over the Alleghanies into the Ohio Valley, and thereby buttressed the sinking faith of the heroic Indians in the purpose of the English not to let the French complete the chain of forts in their rear. All that was needed to effect this was a strong governor in New-York who could obtain sufficient supplies from his assembly. Clinton could not. He had antagonized the Dutch of Albany too severely, and Johnson's ability was disliked by them as much as he was dreaded by the assembly as Clinton's instrument. In consequence of this, the assembly, which the governor delayed summoning till the last moment, refused to provide for any of Johnson's Indian expenses, and gave their partisans such allowances as they thought fit. This plan was checked by the council, now in Clinton's hands, and a deadlock arose because the council proposed a money bill. The governor dissolved the assembly, but did not expect a greatly different set of men to be returned. In fact, the conviction gradually seems to have grown on him that in spite of the personal behavior of the assemblies, nay in spite of their love for deals and jobs for their friends, the animating spirit of the faction was the popular feeling that his assertion of the royal prerogative was out of date, and unsuitable to their surroundings and ideas. Therefore, his entire energy was directed to having the lords of trade either recall him, or give him such powers as to effectively deal with the faction. Of course the burden of his song was to demand permission not to deliver De Lancey's commission, and this the English government would not give. Yet they had not been idle, for after many years' deliberation, new orders were passed in council, commanding the

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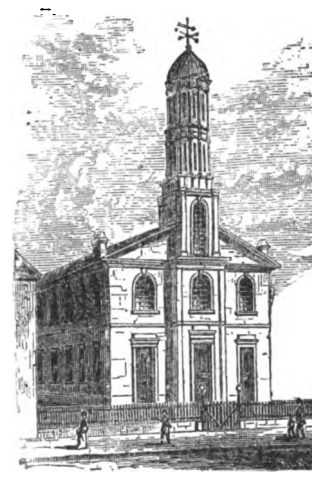
governors to enforce their commission. There was little consolation in this for Clinton, who by some chance had succeeded in obtaining his supplies for the year 1752, and who expected to be able to suspend De Lancey, appoint Colden, and return home before the supply bills expired in September. But again peremptory orders to stay in New-York arrested this plan. Clinton again told of his trials and of the unruly faction that made life miserable to him, and remained.

Now he discovered another element in the faction which must be suppressed. This time it was the mercantile class of New-York, who had grown rich by evading the customs duties, and had carried on trade with the continent. These were now represented as having all the vices and as being inspired by all the ill-will which formerly (according to Clinton) characterized in turn the rich and the poor; the Dutch of Albany, the English manor-lords, and the French of New-York; the tricky lawyers and the dull country storekeepers; the scheming city members and scatter- brained country representatives; who all had at one time or another been loaded with invectives for opposing the governor. On November 29, 1752, the lords of trade gave him a severe reprimand for the tone of his letters, and told him that not only must he stay and not consider his governorship of New-York a place of punishment, but that he must give up all idea of having Colden succeed him. In view of all that he had so efficiently shown in regard to the power of De Lancey's faction and the chief justice's hatred of him and of Colden and his party, it would be but inviting worse disorder to put Colden into temporary control of New-York, when to do this it would be neccessary to divest De Lancey of his commission as lieutenant-governor. With the final order to stay till relieved, the lords of trade bade him farewell. Clinton resigned himself as well as he could to his fate, and tried to keep his attention fixed on the Indian congress, which now was to meet in New-York city. In June, 1753, there appeared



WALL STREET PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

at this council the several Indian chiefs who, with Hendrick, had preserved New-York from the French and had kept the lakes in the north from becoming part of French Canada. Besides the Indians, there was present the governor, whose council had been purged of the faction, as the members who attended were James Alexander, Archibald Kennedy, Mayor Edward Holland, William Johnson, who all belonged to Clinton's party. The conference with the Indians in the main aimed at restor-

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ing confidence, promising them presents; but as Clinton probably intended to exhibit to the representatives of the Six Nations what a fine town New-York was, it may not be out of place to here show what changes had taken place during Clinton's administration.

New-York had grown very much, as several new streets were opened where formerly the farmers had only the easement of right of way. This was the origin of Beekman street, which was laid out and graded in 1752, although since 1656 the farmers had had the right to drive their cattle to the commons through it. A few years before this time (1750) Dey street, named after adjacent property-holders, had been opened. Thus the city was extended more and more to the north; meanwhile Ferry street was added to the city, Thames street opened, John street straightened, while Pearl street was graded down near Peck Slip, and regulated between (the modern) Franklin Square and Chatham street. Within very little time after their opening these streets were paved, of course only with river cobblestones.[1] In regard to the public health our knowledge is negative, and it can be only assumed that the sanitary condition of the town was improved because the small-pox prevailed but once in the ten years of Clinton's rule. Although we have no reason to suppose that the streets were in any worse state than those of any other small town of the time, it is gratifying to note that during this period we no longer hear of the Grand Jury presenting Beekman, Burling, the Fly, and Old Slips as nuisances, because of their general unsavory character, as had been the case in 1743. At that time the city ordained that no pigs or cattle were to be kept in the southern part of the town. North of it, every thing in sight was prairie and marsh. The water was very poor, and constant attempts were made to sink new wells; thus, in 1748, the corporation contributed toward two new wells, one on John street, near Broadway, and the other by the Spring Garden, near the Drivers' Inn, where Broadway diverges eastward to the Bowery (on the site of the Astor House). This period also saw the growth of a number of churches, for although the city members of the assembly were slow to open the public treasury for block-houses on the frontiers, their constituents vied amongst themselves for the honor of having for each denomination its own church. In 1747 the Presbyterian church was rebuilt, and four years later a Moravian church was erected in (the modern) Fulton street. In the year following (1752) St. George's Chapel was built by Trinity church on the corner of Cliff and Beekman streets, and was ministered to by the Rev. Henry Barclay a former missionary among the Mohawks, but now [July 1, 1752] rector of Trinity church.[2] At first it had been intended to build this chapel on Nassau street, near Fair (now Fulton) street, and a lot was actually bought

[1] In the middle of the century there was only one coach in New-York, except Governor Clinton's and that belonged to Lady Murray. At this date it was desirable, if not necessary, that the Dutch language be spoken, in order to deal advantageously in the markets.

[2] In February, 1750, a fire broke out in the New Free School, of which Joseph Hildreth, clerk of Trinity parish, was the master. The church was in great peril, but was fortunately saved. All the archives of Trinity were, however, destroyed.

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there. In 1749 the corner-stone was laid; the very next day the Rev. Samuel Auchmuty, Mr. Barclay's assistant, was married to a Mrs. Tucker. A few weeks previously the rector himself had been united in marriage to a daughter of Anthony Rutgers. Sir Peter Warren gave one hundred pounds toward the building of it, and a pew was assigned to him in recognition of the gift, which he never occupied. The chapel was a conspicuous object, as it stood almost alone in that vicinity. Dr. Stephen H. Tyng preached here until it was surperseded by the handsome structure in Stuyvesant Square. The common council had, in 1747, already encouraged native industry and historical study by voting four pounds for the printing of fifty copies of a little "Essay on the Duties of Vestrymen."[1] But its highest munificence was shown in 1752, when the corporation contributed a subscription of one hundred pounds toward the building of the first Merchants' Exchange, then at the lower end of Broad street, near Bridge, the thoroughfare of our city which has never changed its name, except in translation.[2]

Clinton's administration had in fact benefited only those who had private ends to serve and who could cloak them under the guise of popular principles cleverly enough not to be detected. Gradually the vanity every partisan is shamed into by the repetition of his principles must have prepared movements to which sincere men clung; but, in the main, the struggles for power of the De Lanceys, or of the opposition under the Livingstons and the Albany Dutch, or even of the avowed Toryism of Colden, were as little actuated by considerations of the rights of the people as were Clinton's efforts for the preservation of a steady revenue, and a strongly centralized power of distributing the patronage. That, with all these ordinary motives, these times prepared the men of New-York for the storms of the Revolution, and carried the political education of the great seaport into the rural districts, does not reflect upon the actors any merit or blame. Men in political life are no better than their surroundings;

[1] William Bradford, the father of printing in New-York, died during the year 1752, and was buried in Trinity churchyard. His son, Adrew Bradford (1686-1742), was the founder of the newspaper press in Pennsylvania, and his grandson, Colonel William Bradford (1721-1791), the patriotic printer of the Revolutionary period, has been admirably commemorated by his descendant, John William Wallace, for many years the President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[2] On the map of the city for 1789 it is named Wincom street; so that for a brief period the ancient name was in abeyance.

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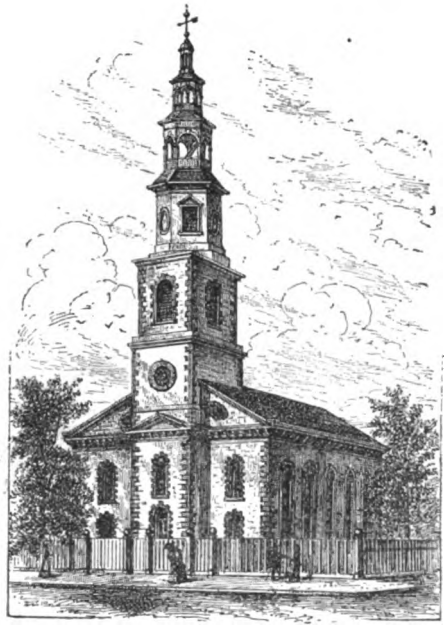
and if New-York politics even at that period have a tinge of that political fever which in the first ten years after 1800 burned most fiercely in this city, it must be remembered that it was the outcome of a transplanted civilization one of whose most familiar characteristics, on emerging from the first ne-



ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL.

cessities of life, is to adopt the grossest or more palpable political rottenness of the mother-country, because that appears to be essentially human and the outcome of a high development. The New-York of Clinton's time was not more selfish than the England of George II., only very much cruder. Yet the fine art displayed by De Lancey, coupled with his firmness of grip, is traceable to an admirable mixture of French and Dutch blood. Besides the larger factions there were all those disappointed officers who had been balked in their hopes and baffled in their vengeance. All these tacitly agreed to wait till Clinton's successor should appear; then to begin afresh.

While Clinton was entertaining his Indian allies, the ministry had found his successor, and in July orders in council were issued for Sir Danvers Osborn's commission. At about the same time the crown lawyers, Ryder and Murray (Lord Mansfield), authoritatively gave the opinion that De Lancey's commission, issued during good behavior, had been well issued, and that Clinton could not revoke it without a misdemeanor proved. The last hope Clinton had of revenging himself and Colden on their enemy now vanished, and when the new governor arrived in October, Clinton finally gave De Lancey his commission as lieutenant-governor, and retired to his country-seat at Flushing, Long Island, where he prepared to leave the country. In November Clinton returned to England, became a member of parliament, and received a sinecure post as governor of Greenwich Hospital, which he held till his death, on July 10, 1761.

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THE BRITISH ATTACK ON WASHINGTON—1814.

AFTER their succeesful forage upon the villages on the upper Chesapeake we find the fleet of Admiral Warren once more at anchor in Hampton Roads, and on June 22nd, having been reinforced by troops under the command of Sir Sidney Beckwith they attacked Crancey Island below Norfolk, with 2,000 men, but were defeated and driven off by Captain Farbell with the sailors and marines of the Frigate Constellation aided by 200 Virginia Militia under Captains Faulkner and Emmerson.

On the 25th of June the enemy landed from 35 barges at the village of Hampton where after a brave resistance from Major Crutchfield and 200 men, they destroyed the village which was given up to plunder and the brutality of the troops, whose atrocities have seldom been equalled in any war and never approached in horrid barbarity on American soil.

The remainder of the year 1813 seems to have been occupied by the enemy in predatory excursions along the lower Chesapeake in which they had several skirmishes with parties of militia and with the flotilla of Commander Joshua Barney who gave them much annoyance with his large barges, propelled by oars and sails and carrying a respectable armament of artillery.

On the 26th of June 1814 official information was received by the government at Washington of the downfall of the great Emperor Napoleon and the consequent pacification of Europe.

As this event would relieve the British Government from its greatest enemy it would be able to spare its great navy and army to prosecute with increased force, hostilities with the United States.

The administration of Mr. Madison in anticipation of the probable events, on the 4th of July made a requisition on certain states for a force of 93,000 men, to be held in readiness at convenient places of rendezvous.

On the 2nd of July the Secretary of war, by order of the President, created a new military district, No. 10, embracing the State of Maryland, the District of Columbia and the Northern counties of Virginia, and to this district Brigadier General Winder was assigned as commander.

The quota of this 10th district under the requisition of July 4th, which General Winder was entitled to call for, amounted to 15,000 men, and so far as the requisition went created a handsome army corps. "Alas, if to do, were as easy as to know how to do, chapels had been churches and poor men's cottages, princes' palaces."

The officer appointed to this responsible command was a distinguished and rising member of the Baltimore bar, and upon the declaration of war he enlisted a batallion of infantry and, receiving a commission of Lieut. Colonel, he marched to the seat of war on the Northern frontier.

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He was promoted, and probably selected to command the 10 District on account of his being a member of a highly influential family in his native state, who were of the party opposed to the national administration and being in his person patriotic and ambitious would probably be able to exert an important influence upon the raw troops destined to his command. It was known early in the summer that the naval force of the enemy had been largely increased and the lower Chesapeake was closely held by a fleet of ships of the line and frigates with many lighter vessels whose names were yet resonant of Nelson and Trafalgar, all under the command of Vice Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, whose flag was displayed from the ship ot the line Tonnant.

It was also known that large bodies of troops had arrived from the British West Indies, and they proved afterward to be veterans of Wellington's army commanded by Major Gen. Robert Ross. On the 18th of August the enemy was reported to be ascending the Pautuxent in force.

The commander of the 10th Military District appears to have entered upon his duty with sufficient zeal but without method. His experience was small and his difficulties great. His requisitions upon the governors for troops were tardily answered and meagerly supplied.

In the meantime on the 19th and 20th of August, information was received that a large force of the enemy had landed at Benedict on the left bank of the Pautuxent about 30 miles from Washington.

It appears from the reports of Gen. Ross and Adm. Cockburn that the primary object of this expedition was the destruction of Barney's flotilla, which upon the appearance of the British fleet in the Pautuxent had withdrawn up the river to a place called Pig Point, a short distance from upper Marlborough—and here the barges were drawn up in shallow water and prepared for defence.

The British troops who accompanied this expedition were divided into 3 Brigades. 1st Brigade, Col. Brooke, 44th Regt. 4th Regt. or King town. 2d Brigade, Col. Patterson, 21st Regt., Royal Scots, 2d Batallion Royal Mariners. 3rd Light Brigade, Col. Thornton, 85th Light Infantry, Light Infantry companies of 4th, 21st and 44th Regiments—one company Marine Skirmishers and Colonial Mariners.

The boats of the squadron under Adm. Cockburn moved up the river on the right flank of the troops for the purpose of protecting the flank and affording supplies to the army on the march ; they probably amounted to about 500 men, and the whole army to about 4000 men without cavalry or artillery except two small field pieces and one howitzer and a rocket company.

The British soldiers, now landed on the banks of the Pautuxent, were long inured to war and commanded by officers who had seen service in the Spanish peninsula under Wellington, and many of them had taken part in the battles and sieges which drove the French eagles under Soult through the passes of the Pyrenees into France, and made the fame of the Iron Duke so enduring.

Major Gen. Robert Ross the com-

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mander of these troops was an officer yet in the early prime of manhood, had won high distinction, the confidence of Wellington and the esteem of his companions in arms.

On the evening of the 19th the troops were supplied with three days rations and eighty rounds of ammunition per man, they carried blankets and knapsacks well packed with extra clothing, for John Bull likes to be comfortable always.

The first night was spent only a short distance from the fleet and they bivouacked on a hill, throwing out pickets and surrounding their position by guards, thus taking every precaution against surprise in the strange land where they found themselves.

Now at Washington, doubt and confusion existed, for the objective point of the enemy was supposed, strangely enough, to be Baltimore, twice the distance to Washington. Even Annapolis and Alexandria were suggested although the Potomac is more than a mile wide at Alexandria and the British were known to be without artillery.

On the 21st, by orders from the Secretary of the Navy, Barney abandoned his boats and retired to Washington leaving a few men in each boat with orders to burn them upon the approach of the enemy.

In the mean time the boats and launches of the enemy moved up the river on the right flank of the army.

On the 21st, the expedition halted at Nottingham and on the 22d reached upper Marlborough and halted while the boat expedition proceeded to attack Barney's flotilla, but in obedience to orders the men in charge of the boats set them on fire and they were completely destroyed. The primary object of the expedition having been accomplished the troops remained at Marlborough during the 23d, for the purpose no doubt of collecting information and supplies.

And the enterprising Cockburn suggested a move on Washington, only 16 miles distant, and the general having satisfied himself no doubt of the probable success of an attack, gave orders for marching at daylight on the 24th.

Now the direct road from Marlborough to Washington crosses the Eastern branch near the Navy Yard where the stream is navigable and there was a good bridge.

When the enemy were understood to be at Nottingham on the 22d. Gen. Winder's camp was formed at a place called the woodyard, but during the day he fell back to Batallion Old fields, 8 miles from Washington and on the direct road to the Navy Yard bridge.

Here during the day the troops were reviewed by the President and heads of Departments and were found to amount to 3200 men and 17 guns.

It will be observed that the enemy had now been three days in march but no effort had been made by obstructing roads by felling trees or otherwise to embarrass his advance. On the 22d and 23rd the cavalry sent to the front seems to have been satisfied with a sight of the steadily moving column and after perhaps a harmless shot or two galloped off to report.

On the 22 and 23 the Brigade of militia under General Stansbury and a brigade of Baltimore Volunteers under Colonel Sterret reached Bled-

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ensbury and according to their orders halted there, having received no orders to join the troops in position at the Oldfields.

Now the clearest accounts of the further proceedings that I find is given by the gallant old Commodore Barney who says in his report to the Secretary of the Navy.

"On Tuesday 23rd, we were in-
"formed the enemy were advancing
"upon us. Our army was put in or-
"der of battle and our positions taken,
"my forces were on the right flanked
"by the two battalions of the 36th and
"38th (Regiments). The enemy, how-
"ever, did not make his appearance.

"A little before sunset General
"Winder came to me and recommen-
"ded that the heavy artillery should
"be withdrawn with the exception of
"one 12 pounder to cover the retreat.

"We took up the line of march and
"in the night entered Washington by
"the Eastern branch bridge. I
"marched my men to the marine
"barracks and took up quarters for
"the night. About two o'clock Gen-
"eral Winder came to me and we
"made some arrangements. In the
"morning I received a note from him
"and waited upon him. He requested
"me to take command and place my
"artillery to defend the passage of
"the bridge on the Eastern branch as
"the enemy was approaching the city
"in that direction. I immediately
"put my guns in position etc.

Why the general did not order the bridge to be destroyed does not appear, as without the bridge the only way for them to cross the Eastern branch at this point would have been to swim as they had no pontoons or boats of any kind.

It will be remembered that it was near the morning of August 24th, and the enemy was already in full march upon Bledensbury five miles further up the stream where at this season it was easily fordable—and we may suppose Ross had no desire to emulate Bonaparte and the bridge of Lodi. Now on the morning of the 24th the General being apprised that the enemy had filed to the right and were marching on Bledensbury he collected his force and moved to meet them, and to join the troops of Stansbury, Smith and Sterret who were already in position, and formed his army in two lines, but there are so many accounts of this farmer's battle of Bledensbury that it is difficult which to select. As near as can be ascertained, however, the whole force amounted to 8,000 men, and with the exception of one regiment, the 5th Baltimore Volunteers and 300 regular troops, entirely undisciplined, many of them badly armed and certainly not well commanded.

Now General Winder was the recipient of advice from many sources, among others Colonel Monroe and his friend from Baltimore, who carried muskets in the Baltimore troops, did not hesitate to give their opinions.

But now upon this blazing morn of Wednesday August 24th, with the thermometer above 90° a cloud of dust and the glint of arms announced the head of the British columns in the one street of Bledensbury.

According to the journal of a surgeon who belonged to Ries' headquarters—the troops halted for a short time and threw forward skirmishers along the northern side of the stream and after exchanging a few shots re-

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tired, when the order was given for an advance, led across the bridge by the Light Brigade under Col. Thornton, supported by the Brigade of Col. Brooke with the rocket company: this brigade appears to have passed the stream above the bridge and attacked the left of Winders line where Stansbury's brigade and the 5th Volunteers were posted.

At the bridge, which was so narrow that the enemy must have been reduced to a column of platoons, they pushed rapidly forward, however, in face of an artillery company whose fire swept the bridge and many of their men fell. In the meantime, Brooke's brigade having forded the stream, it would seem in skirmishing order, faced Stansbury's command and the rockets were thrown over and among the militia which seemed to waver and were ordered by Gen. Winder to retire, which order they obeyed with such alacrity that they carried off with them the 2d line and the whole army fled in utter confusion, and did not stop to take breath until they reached the heights of Georgetown more than eight miles from the field of battle. Just about the time that the enemy crossed the bridge and the first line broke, Commodore Barney's men, about 400 in number, with his artillery and a company of marines arrived and immediately assumed a position on a commanding elevation and awaited the attack of the enemy, who had passed the bridge and driven off the artillery men. They advanced boldly to the assault, but were met with a destructive fire from an eighteen pounder from which they recoiled; they advanced a second and third time to the attack, but were each time repulsed with heavy loss. The three ranking British officers including Col. Thornton fell, one of them mortally wounded.

The commodore in his report says he now looked for assistance from a regiment of militia on his right but at the approach of the enemy they immediately fled. By this time he had lost several officers and men, his horse was killed and he was severely wounded by a ball in his thigh, and as the whole of the troops had disappeared and his small force was surrounded, he directed his men to save themselves as they best could, and he was left unable, from loss of blood, to move. A British officer soon came up and afterward Gen. Ross and Com. Cockburn, who treated him with great courtesy and immediately paroled him and offered him any assistance in their power. The small force that as far as possible thus redeemed the honor of the day, was of Barney's creation and consisted of master and mate of ships unemployed and largely of Chesapeake sailors, drilled and disciplined to handle artillery. It should have been mentioned that the reason why Barney was so late arriving on the field, was that he had been left at the Eastern Branch bridge, which had been now destroyed without orders, apparently forgotten, when the secretary of the navy appeared and ordered him to join the army at Bledensbury, at half past two o'clock in the afternoon. The last vestige of opposition having been swept away, the British soldiers threw themselves on the ground, exhausted by the heat and fatigue.

Now the capital of the Nation was at the mercy of the enemy, but the

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straggling city of eight or nine thousand people, gave no indication of the future beautiful metropolis which was to adorn the banks of the Potomac and become a type of the power and civilization of the great Republic and worthy of the name of Washington. A few plain brick houses of three stories clustered near the capitol. Near the Navy yard and marine barracks there were a few neglected-looking tenements, along Pennsylvania avenue a few stores and hotels. West of the President's house there were some comfortable three-story buildings on Pennsylvania avenue and a few frame buildings on H street. North of H street, brick yards and cornfields occupied the ground together with swamps towards Reed creek where there was good shooting for reed birds in the proper season. The capital and President's house were unfinished, although occupied. The Treasury, War and Navy departments were plain, unadorned brick buildings. The streets or roads were unpaved and in the spring, very heavy with mud. But when the news of the capture of the city reached London, the tower guns opened a salute, for John Bull naturally supposed the capital of a nation, like Paris or Vienna was a great city and the heirs of Gen. Ross are still called Ross of Bledensbury.

Late in the afternoon the British soldiers were roused from their repose on the field of battle, formed and marched toward the capital, where they halted about sunset and fired a volley into the walls, feeling perhaps for its defenders.

Detachments were now sent off to fire the President's palace (as they called it) and the other public buildings, the torch having been already applied to the capitol. The Navy yard had already been set on fire and abandoned by order of the Secretary of the Navy. Much material and a new frigate nearly finished were consumed at this point. The fires lit up the country for a long distance and struck terror to Alexandria six miles down the Potomac. As Gen. Ross with Adm. Cockburn rode into the city some persons fired upon them from a house near the capitol and the General's horse was killed. That house and one or two others were immediately burned.

The President and all official people fled, but the papers of the different departments were saved by the clerks and Mrs. Madison carried off the silver and records of the executive mansion with her.

The conquerors remained in undisturbed possession of the city during the 25th, to complete the destruction of whatever had escaped them during the night.

Admiral Cockburn was conspicuous on a white mare with a dark foal following. He rode around and comforted the frightened women by telling them not to be afraid, "Madison "was gone but he was their president "now and would take good care of them."

During the day General Ross with the Admiral called at a boarding house kept by a Mrs. Suter, which stood opposite the treasury, and must have been on the ground now occupied by the Riggs house, and called for dinner. As there was a large party of officers the good landlady was in despair, but her visitors would

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take no excuse, and she succeeded in getting a dinner for them. And while at dinner, the general asked what had become of the cross old gentleman who a few days before had objected to giving anything to eat to a poor destitute beggar! The old gentleman was Governor Meigs who boarded at Mrs. Suter's and objected to her supplying a ragged-beggar with food saying for all she knew the man was a spy which it seems he was.

In the afternoon the troops assembled on Capitol Hill and about 4 o'clock a violent thunder storm accompanied by a tornado and a deluge of rain, which seems to have disturbed the nerves of the British soldiers, who were all the time expecting to be attacked by fresh troops, and the letters to England of some of the officers stated that they saw heavy masses of troops assembling on the heights of Georgetown, an illusion probably created by the curling mists that arose from the wet ground after the rain. At night on the 25th the enemy retired and on the 29th marching by the route of their advance reached. Benedict on the 29th and re-embarked

The British loss at Bledensbury was, according to their own accounts, 270 killed and wounded. To which must be added 42 men killed and wounded by the explosion of a dry well containing a large amount of powder at the arsenal at Greenleaf's Point, where a British party was engaged in destroying the arsenal on the morning of the 25th of August making their loss in all 312 men, and before they reached Benedict many of their men took the opportunity to desert. So it is quite probable their expedition cost them 500 men.

I have seen the loss of the Americans stated at 10 or 12. A considerable proportion must have belonged to Barney's men.

After the scare began to wear off, critics and wits took heart to exercise their abilities.

Jimmy Madison was the butt of many shafts and of course Gen. Winder did not escape.

General Armstrong, the Secretary of war said he attributed the result to the love of life which predominated over patriotism and sense of honor, and perhaps the moral to be drawn from this strange eventful story is —in time of war it is best to be prepared to fight.

ROBERT S. ROGERS.

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THE ROMANCE OF HISTORY.

SIR WALTER SCOTT, in song and story, has thrown over his native land a halo of romance such as hangs over no other country Marmion and The Lady of the Lake, The Antiquary, The Heart of Mid-Lothian, Rob Roy, and the rest, have placed much of the veritable history of Scotland in a light clearer and fairer than ever before or elsewhere has shone on sea or land. Prior to the time of Walter Scott, there was scarcely a country more obscure or uninteresting than Scotland ; now no other country attracts more tourists excites more enthusiasm than does "the land of brown heather and the flood."

Next to Scott in the interest he has woven about historic events and characters, is Lord Macaulay. Scott worked with fiction almost entirely, introducing among his *dramatis personae* real characters, and mixing up the scenes and incidents of fancy with the facts of history, and bringing out of it all some of the most wonderful performances of the human intellect. These real characters add a greater charm to the romances, and give them a more permanent interest.

Macaulay, on the other hand, never attempted fiction ; but the incidents of history, as he relates them, are not less captivating than the fictions of Sir Walter. Take that thrilling episode, Monmouth's rebellion and the battle of Sedgmoor : there is nothing more graphically told in the English language. No romance takes hold of the imagination more strongly. No hero of fiction possesses the mind more completely than does the ill-starred, the beloved "Protestant Duke," from the moment he landed at Lyme to that sad day when he laid his handsome head on the block on Tower Hill. It may be doubted whether Macaulay could have equalled Sir Walter in the paths of fiction ; we are willing to believe that Scott shall continue to reign there supreme ; but in the way of purely historical writing, Lord Macaulay is as far superior to Sir Walter Scott, as we are willing to believe the latter would have continued to be in the works of pure romance, if Macaulay had entered that attractive field. This may easily be put to the test. One topic has been treated by both Scott and Macaulay, one topic that has afforded each of them an ample opportunity : namely, the Massacre of Glencoe. Read Scott's account of that dreadful affair in his Tales of a Grandfather, and then read Macaulay's account in the fourth volume of his History, and the comparative strength of these two intellectual giants in the same field of labor may be easily seen.

James Fenimore Cooper stands much below Sir Walter Scott, yet some such interest as the Wizard of the North has thrown over Scotland, Cooper has succeeded in weaving about some portions of New York, in his admirable stories of The Spy,

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The Pathfinder, The Deerslayer, The Last of the Mohicans, and so forth. Similarly Irving has woven a web of romance about ancient Manhattan and the Hudson river with his Diedrich Knickerbocker, his Ichabod Crane, and his Rip Van Winkle; and Hawthorne has done as much for the old town of Salem by his story of The Scarlet Letter and The House of the Seven Gables.

But it is not necessary to resort to works of fiction to discover the elements of romance in our history. Not one of our States, scarcely a county in one of our States, that has not features of romance in its early settlement and history. The history of the oldest of these, Virginia, related last and best by John Esten Cooke, is full of romantic features: The early attempts at colonization; the motley throng of decayed tradesmen, younger sons, and gentlemen in hard luck generally, that made up the first expeditions to that fabled Eldorado; the utter disappearance from the knowledge of men of the colony founded on Roanoke Island by Sir Richard Grenville, leaving no trace behind them except the solitary word "Croatan," the name of an Indian village upon the distant coast—inscribed upon a post by the shore. No further trace of them could ever be found. "Repeated efforts," says Cooke, "were made to ascertain from the Indians what had become of the colonists; but they could not or would not say what had happened. Had the poor people wandered away into cypress forests and been lost? Had they starved on the route to Croatan? Had the Indians put them to death? The secret is still a secret, and this sudden disappearance of more than a hundred human beings is one of the strangest events of history." The entire early annals of Virginia is a series of dramatic and interesting episodes. We need only to refer to the wreck of the Sea Venture on the Bermudas, which unquestionably gave rise to Shakespere's Tempest; the adventurous career of Captain John Smith; John Rolfe and Pocahontas; the rebellion of Nathaniel Bacon; old Governor Spottswood and the knights of the Horse-shoe; and the youthful Colonel Washington and the stout English General and the famous but unfortunate expedition in which they were joined.

Farther to the north, on the rock-bound coast of New England, among the steeple-hatted Pilgrims, elements of the romantic are to be found, which have been utilized by the novelists and poets of that region. Miles Standish and Priscilla, Judge Pyncheon and Hester Prynne are picturesque and enduring representatives of those times. The facts of history were in hundreds of cases as thrilling as poetic, and alas! frequently more tragical then the conception of the novelist. The heroism, the endurance, the high-souled self-devotion of the early Puritans form a chapter of human experience unsurpassed in the pages of fiction.

The history of witchcraft as it developed in this country, while it possesses no features that can be called romantic, yet presents others of dramatic and fearful interest. But a single case of witchcraft is on record in the annals of Pennsylvania. The trial was held before William Penn himself, in the early part of the

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year 1683. If the case was not laughed out of court, it was at least regarded by the wise old Quakers of Philadelphia as a frivolous accusation; and the poor old woman against whom the charge was brought, was found guilty of having the reputation of being a witch, but not guilty of the crime of witchcraft! It was the only verdict such nonsense deserved. Her friends were required to give security that she would keep the peace. How much happier for the world and how much more to the credit of humanity, if such counsels had everywhere prevailed. In Virginia, as late as the year 1705, there was one trial for witchcraft, at which the accused was found guilty, and ordered to be secured in jail "by irons or otherwise." It does not seem that she was executed, and it is to be hoped that a wiser and more humane spirit soon set her at liberty.

It was in Massachusetts, particularly at Salem, that this lamentable delusion had fullest sway. A mania seems to have seized the people. No previous course of life however spotless, however useful, however honorable, weighed a grain in the balance against the charge of witchcraft, founded on whatever frivolous or foolish evidence. Learning, beauty, piety, were as nothing. Not only that, but from the moment the victim was accused, and before trial, he was treated with such barbarity as to make the cheek burn with hot shame and indignation now two hundred years afterwards.

The early history of Pennsylvania affords many chapters of vivid and romantic interest. Note particularly the Swedish settlements on the Delaware; the almost ludicrous warfare with old Peter Stuyvesant and the Dutch of New Amsterdam; and William Penn and the Quakers at Coaquannock. The history of its western settlements is even more attractive. Old Governor Dinwiddie, George Washington, Christopher Gist, Captain Celoron, De Contrecoeur, Jumonville, Braddock, Bouquet, Dunmore, Guyasutha, Shingis, are some of the figures that flit across the stage; and it was in the wilds of western Pennsylvania that the long French and Indian war began, the consequences of which were felt throughout the civilized world. It was there that the name of George Washington first became known. "It was strange," says Thackeray, "that in a savage forest in Pennsylvania, a young Virginian officer should fire a shot, and waken up a war which was to last for sixty years, which was to cover his own country and pass into Europe, to cost France her American colonies, to sever ours from us, and create the great western republic; to rage over the Old World when extinguished in the New; and, of all the myriads engaged in the vast contest, to leave the prize of the greatest fame with him who struck the first blow!"

And so, if we were to go over the history of any section of our country in detail, we should find the same elements of romance and the same features of vivid interest; Kentucky, for example, with the picturesque Daniel Boone in the foreground; California and its conquest by Fremont and Kearney, the discovery of gold on the American River, and the wonderful development and growth

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of the state; Kansas, the battle-field for freedom; Indiana, with which is forever identified George Rogers Clarke and William Henry Harrison; Ohio, and the story of its first settlements at Marietta and in the Western Reserve; or Georgia, for which stand as sponsors Whitfield the evangelist, and Oglethorpe the soldier.

When the Macaulay of American history shall appear, as he doubtless will appear in time, he will find to his hand the elements of a story of such varied interest and such picturesqueness of detail as to illustrate more forcibly than ever the oft-quoted saying that the truth is stranger than fiction.

T. J. CHAPMAN.

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THE SITE OF FORT LA TOUR.[1]

AMIDST the many brave deeds which enrich Canadian annals, a foremost place must ever be given to the noble defence by Madame de la Tour of her husband's fort by the river St. John. There is no event in the history of Acadia, not even excepting the expulsion which so powerfully touches the deepest chords of our human sympathies as does this incident, with its picturesque setting of French feudalism romantically coloring the cold rocks and dark forests of the north, with its true womanly devotion opposed to heartless treachery, with its pathetically futile heroism.

Happily the story is well authenticated, for it rests upon the authority of two of the most truthful of all the chroniclers of Acadian events; indeed it may be added, almost solely upon their authority.[2] The bearers of this honor are Nicolas Denys, governor under the French King of all the Gulf shore from Rosiers to Cape Breton and John Winthrop, puritan governor of Massachusetts, both of them contemporary with the event, both too near its harsh realism to see in it the romance with which the softening haze of distance shows it to us, both too practical and too honest to pervert its facts for literary decoration or dramatic effect.

Denys' narrative cannot be too often repeated. La Tour's fort, he tells us, was "destroyed by d'Aunay after he had wrongfully taken possession of it, as he had no right whatever to do, and which he would have found great difficulty in accomplishing had he not been advised of the absence of Sieur de la Tour, who had taken with him a part of his garrison leaving only his wife and the remainder of his people to keep the fort. After having sustained for three days and three nights all the assaults of d'Aunay, and having obliged him to withdraw beyond reach of her cannon she was finally obliged to surrender on the fourth day, which was Easter day, having been betrayed by a Swiss who was on guard whilst she, hoping for some respite, was making her followers rest. The Swiss, bribed by d'Aunay's men, allowed them to mount to the assault, which was resisted for some time by the lady commander at the head of her garrison. She only surrended at the last extremity, and under condition that d'Aunay should spare all, which, indeed, he did not do, for after making himself master of the place, he threw them all into

[1] It is thought that the above paper will have a special interest in connection with the article on "La Tour and Acadia" in the March number of this Magazine, prepared from the original Suffolk Deeds, by Mr. A. E. Allaben. About old Fort La Tour centres one of the most interesting romances in the pages of genuine history. Mr. Ganong, in the above paper communicated to the Royal Geographical Society of Canada, has carefully established the scene of this story. His conclusions are presented here by permission of their author.

[2] Sir Thomas Temple's letters in the British State Paper office give an independent but brief and substantially similar account of the event.

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prison along with their lady commander. Then by advice of his council, he hung them, with the exception of a single one whose life was spared on the condition that he would do the hanging; and the lady commander had to be present at the scaffold with a rope around her neck as though she was the vilest criminal."

Winthrop is more concise, but as we would expect from a New Englander, he gives us exact figures:[1] "We understood for certain afterwards that Monsieur La Tour's fort was taken by assault and scalado, that Monsieur d'Aunay lost in the attempt twelve men and had many wounded, and that he had put to death all the men (both French and English) and had taken the lady, who died within three weeks after." The year of the event was 1645.

Such is the brave story. Should not the Canadians ever wish to point to the spot where it was enacted? But where was Fort La Tour? At the present day no man can point with certainty to its site. It is in the effort to help towards the settlement of this important question that the present argument is submitted to this society.

There are three several localities which have been claimed as the site of the fort, and to these a fourth must now be added.

I. At the mouth of the Jemseg, 35 miles up the river from St. John.

II. On St. John Harbor, west side of the entrance where Fort Dufferin now stands.

III. On St. John Harbor, west side at Carleton Point, opposite Navy Island, where Fort Frederick afterwards stood; now known locally as "Old Fort."

IV. On St. John Harbor, east side and probably on the present Portland Point.

We shall very briefly examine the evidence for and against each locality.

I.—THE JEMSEG SITE.

At least two writers whose views are entitled to consideration have placed Fort La Tour at Jemseg, where, as is well known, the French had a fort about 1670. The late Moses H. Perley, in a lecture delivered in St. John in 1841, of which the MS. is now in the possession of his son, Mr. Henry F. Perley, of Ottawa, gives this locality, but no substantial reasons therefor. Apparently Mr. Perley had not access to either Denys' or Winthrop's works. M. E. Rameau de Saint-Pere, in both editions of his "Une Colonie Féodale,"[2] likewise gives us this view and with no reasons, merely the bare statement that it was at Jemseg. It will take but few words to dismiss this supposition. The evidence for it we do not know; against it are the facts.

(1) All known maps marking the fort, place it at the mouth of the river.

(2) Denys' full description, quoted below, places it at the mouth.

(3) The mortgage of the fort, signed by La Tour himself, and given to Major Gibbons, of Boston, in security for large loans made to La Tour, is preserved in the Suffolk County Records in Boston and reads as follows.[3] "his fort called La Tour

[1] History of New England. II. p. 238.

[2] Paris, 1877, and Paris and Montreal, 1889.

[3] Suffolk County Deeds, Vol. I. fol. 9, 10; Hazard, State Papers, Vol. I, p. 541. Jack, History of St. John p. 156.

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and plantacon wthin ye northern part of america wherein ye sd mounsr together with his family hath of late made his Residence, scittuate & being at or neere the mouth of a certajne River called by ye name of [St.] Johns River."

Nothing could be more satisfactory on this point, and even other evidence is known.[1]

II. THE FORT DUFFERIN SITE.

To this view, Mr. J. W. Lawrence, New Brunswick's venerable historian, and Mr. W. P. Dole, of St. John, have given their adherence. We cannot find that the former has expressed his opinion in print; but the latter has warmly championed the cause in a paper read before the N. B. Historical Society, and published in abstract in the St. John *Daily Sun* of December 5, 1888. The evidence in favor of the view is all expressed in the following summary;—

(1) Tradition, derived from early settlers, in connection with the fact that fifty years ago traces of old earthworks were there to be seen, and that a well in the vicinity was called the Old French Well.

(2) Denys' description of the harbor, in which, according to Mr. Dole, it is stated that Charnisay's Fort, built after the destruction of Fort La Tour, was farther up the harbor than the latter. As Denys plainly locates Charnisay's Fort, where Fort Frederick afterwards was, Fort La Tour must therefore, according to Mr. Dole, be below, and Fort Dufferin is the natural situation for it.

No documentary, or cartographical or other evidence is offered in support of the view.

That it cannot express the truth appears to be shown by the following facts:—

(1) Tradition in such a case as this is well-nigh worthless. Mr. Dole's tradition does not pretend to go back of the New England immigrants who came to the River in 1762 or 1763. The hundred and seventeen years which had elapsed since Fort La Tour fell had seen many changes about the harbor; forts had been erected and destroyed, and then the rocky shores had been abandoned by inhabitants for many years together. Prior to the coming of the New Englanders, all of the French had been expelled from the lower part of the river. Whence then did the former derive their tradition? Uninterrupted occupation by a single people gives traditions of value, though even then they may err; irregular and intermittent occupation by people of different races can afford no traditions of weight in comparison with

[1] As the letter of Gorges to Gov. Winthrop. (Williamson's "Maine," Vol. I, p. 812 and references here and there in Winthrop's "History of Massachusetts.") It is curious how this view originated. Haliburton does not distinctly state, though he implies it. Perhaps he had it from tradition, and he was followed without question by Gesner, Munro and others. Perley, however, and Rameau are independent investigators upon New Brunswick history and can hardly be supposed to have accepted it without some evidence.

There is yet another argument, quite unanswerable, which I had quite overlooked, and which I owe, to Mr. J. W. Lawrence our New Brunswick historian. The first attack on the fort by Charnisay's ships took place in February, and the final attack between the 13th and 16th of April, at both of which seasons the river is frozen to its mouth, and it would have been utterly impossible to reach Jemseg.

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documentary evidence. We know nothing of the origin of the earthworks or old well.

(2) Denys does not say what Mr. Dole attributes to him, but something entirely different, as our readers may judge for themselves from the translation given below, and from the original reproduced in the appendix. That so accomplished a scholar as Mr. Dole should have misread the plain French of Denys' narrative is most surprising. Denys does say that Charnisay's Fort stood on the site of Fort Frederick, as Mr. Dole states, but he says not one word that can be construed to mean that Fort La Tour stood below it or anywhere in the vicinity of Fort Dufferin.[1]

(3) The total lack of other documentary and of cartographical evidence, in face of the mass of both placing the fort farther up the harbor, cannot be overlooked. Early maps marking the forts on the harbor place neither of them at Fort Dufferin.

III.—THE FORT FREDERICK SITE.

This view was mentioned by Murdock in 1864. To it the adherence of James Hannay, after long and careful study bearing on the question, gives the strongest support; and other local historians believe for the most part with him. Mr. Hannay has summed up the evidence in a paper presented to the N. B. Historical Society in Feb., 1882,[2] and published in a local paper at the time.

The evidence for his view is as follows, resting

(1) Upon a reading of Denys' narrative, which would make the "marshes" referred to by the latter the flats of Courtenay Bay; Charnisay's Fort, which was above them on the same side, would therefore come on the east side, and probably at Portland Point. As two forts are mentioned by Denys (a fact for which there is other ample evidence), and as Old Fort Point (site of Fort Frederick) is the only other place on the harbor where a fort is known to have stood, by a process of exclusion, Fort La Tour must have stood on Old Fort Point in Carleton.

(2) Upon a statement of M. Masse de St. Maurice, in a letter to the French Government, written in 1760,[3] in which it is said: "Fort La Tour, or St. John, is on the left bank of the River St. John, and that it has a garrison of 180 Englishmen." As this garrison was certainly in Fort Frederick, the latter and Fort La Tour must therefore occupy the same site.[4]

(3) Upon a chain of reasoning which endeavors to trace the history of both forts continuously from the time of La Tour and Charnisay to the building of Fort Frederick, and to show that the Portland Point Fort, Viliebon's Fort, and Charnisay's Fort all occupied one site, while Fort Frederick, a fort mentioned by Car-

[1] Unless Denys' mention of "behind the island where vessels anchor" be taken to refer to Partridge Island. But not only is this not sustained by any facts whatever in the narrative, but it is expressly contradicted by Denys himself. A little further along, after describing the harbor and forts, he resumes his description of the river above them, saying: "The island of which I have spoken being passed, under which vessels anchor that they may be more sheltered, it is only a good cannon shot to the falls," etc. The words cannot possibly be made to apply to any other than Navy Island.

[2] The MS. of this he has been so generous to loan to the writer for use in the preparation of this paper.

[3] Given in Murdoch's "Nova Scotia," Vol, II, p, 383.

[4] Mr. Hannay does not mention this in his paper, but in a letter to the writer.

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dillac and others, and Fort La Tour occupied the Carleton site.

No evidence from maps is offered by Mr. Hannay.

The reasons why Mr. Hannay's arguments are far from convincing are as follows:—

(1) He has incorrectly read Denys' narrative; or rather, in the copy or translation which he has used, some words of primary importance which are fatal to his view have been omited. This misreading of passages in Denys' work, which are in such plain French that it seems utterly impossible that anyone could ever misunderstand them, is the strangest fact in all our local literature. As a matter of fact, as the reader can see for himself below, Denys, after speaking of what Mr. Hannay must admit to be Partridge Island, goes on to add: "On the same side as the island there are great marshes or flats." These words, "on the same side as the island," are totally omitted from Mr. Hannay's translation as given in his paper, and thus is destroyed the sense of a passage which in its truth and entirety is quite fatal to the theory he seeks to establish. But this matter will come up again in a moment.

(2.) A bare statement of this sort can have very little weight when not backed by reliable evidence of some sort. We have no reason for believing that M. Masse de St. Maurice, writing in 1760, had any reliable information as to the site of Fort La Tour. But, on the other hand, maps of 1755 (presently to be referred to) place Fort La Tour on the west side, and it was probably from one of these that he had his information.

(3.) Mr. Hannay's whole reason is based, as he himself tells us, upon the supposition that Fort La Tour stood on the Fort Frederick site. Taking this for granted at the start, he proceeds to show that all we know of the subsequent history of both forts is consistent with this assumption, and hence a strong degree of probability is attached to the latter. But aside from the fact that Mr. Hannay by no means succeeds in proving all of his points in the line of the argument, owing to our very scanty knowledge of their subsequent history,[1] there is the additional difficulty

[1] For instance, to take but a single point, Mr. Hannay argues from passages in Church's history of his eastern expedition that Villebon's fort, built in 1696, was on the east side. But this is directly opposed by a statement of Brouillon, who was personally on the ground in 1701. His discription of the fort (in "Collection des manuscrits," Quebec, 1884, Vol. 2, p. 390) calls the land "low wet and unhealthy, which makes both garrison and stores suffer," which applies perfectly to the Old Fort Point site, but not to Portland Point. Then he says: The water is very bad and very scarce"—almost the dentical words of Denys, who applied them to Charnisay's Fort at Carleton (see below p. 67), and then he adds: The place is very contracted, and all that M. Villebon has been able to do has been to arrange what little earth there is in bastions very little elevated and with a slope very easy to surmount." And again (Murdoch, 1, p. 249), he calls it "extremely small, and commanded on one side by an island, at the distance of a pistol shot, and on the other by a height that commanded it entirely, at the distance of only a hundred and odd fathoms, with the disadvantage of having no water to drink without going to seek it beyond the torrent of the River St. John." Brouillon thus clearly indicates that Villebon's Fort was in Carleton, and not on the east side, as Mr. Hannay's reasoning.

As this paper is passing through the press, I have received from Paris a copy of a map in the French Archives, entitled "Plan du Fort de la Riviere de St. Jean, par le Sr. de Villieu, 20 8br 1700." This is Villebon's fort, and shows it surrounded by water on the west, north and east sides, and connected with the land to the south by a marshy neck. This settles finally the situation of Villebon's fort, as Mr. Hannay, who has seen the map, admits. It was in Carleton at "Old Fort." Hence Mr. Hannay's chain of reasoning must fall to the ground.

Just to the south-west on this map is marked a hill, with the inscription, "hauteur d'ou le fort peut estre incommode." This is of course the height mentioned by Brouillon, and is the very abrupt hill, higher than "Old Fort," on Water street between Market and Ludlow, in Carleton.

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that if the assumption to start with be just the reverse, i. e., that Fort La Tour was at Portland Point, everything is just as consistent with the assumption as in the former case.

The entire absence of cartographical evidence is a serious drawback to Mr. Hannay's argument. The only maps he mentions, two in number, he admits to be against his view. In a question of exact geography, the evidence of maps cannot be neglected.

IV.— THE PORTLAND POINT SITE.

So far as he knows, the writer is the first who has been forced to the conclusion that Fort La Tour was on the east side of the harbor, probably at Portland point.[1] This view is based upon the following facts:

(1.) Denys' description of the harbor shows that Fort La Tour could not have been at Carleton. Denys' authority on matters of fact of this kind has never been questioned. All writers praise his honesty and accuracy.[2] He was an eye-witness of nearly all he describes. He knew intimately both La Tour and Charnisay, had visited St. John harbor, and after La Tour's ruin had employed some of La Tour's men, as he himself tells us. He must have known then where Fort La Tour was. His entire reference to the subject was as follows:[3]

"The entrance of the river St. John is dangerous of access, the shore ranging close up from both directions; the best entrance is on the starboard or right hand side, not too near the shore. The entrance is narrow, because of a little island which is to the larboard or on the left hand side, which being passed the river is much larger. On the same side as the island there are large marshes or flats which are covered at high tide; the beach is of muddy sand, which makes a point, which passed, there is a cove [or creek] which makes into the said marshes, of which the entrance is narrow, and there the late Sieur Monsieur de la Tour had caused to be made a weir [or dam, *ecluse*] in which were caught a great number of those Gaspereaux which were salted for winter; he several times caught there so great a quantity that it was necessary to break the wier and push them back into the sea, as otherwise they would have given the weir a stench which would have been ruined by it. There were found there sometimes also salmon, alewives and bass, which is the *maigre* of La Rochelle, which serve all the spring as a grand manna for the inhabitants of this country.

"A little further on, beyond the said weir, there is a little mound where d'Aunay built his fort, which I have not found well placed according to my idea, for it is commanded by an island which is very near and higher ground, and behind which all ships can place themselves under

[1] It is true two other writers, Williamson, in his "History of Maine," Vol. I, p. 308, and Smith, in "America," Vol. IV, p. 143, have said that the fort stood on the east side, where the city now is, but neither give any authority for the statement. Probably the latter copied it from the former, who in turn took it from some of the old maps to which we refer below.

[2] See "America," IV, p. 153, which says: "He was a careful and observant navigator, but in its historical part it is confused and perplexing." This criticism does not refer to his relations of matters of fact with which he was contemporary, but to his discussion of older history. Note that Charlevoix says of him: "He tells nothing but what he saw himself."

[3] See appendix at end of this article for the original of Denys' description.

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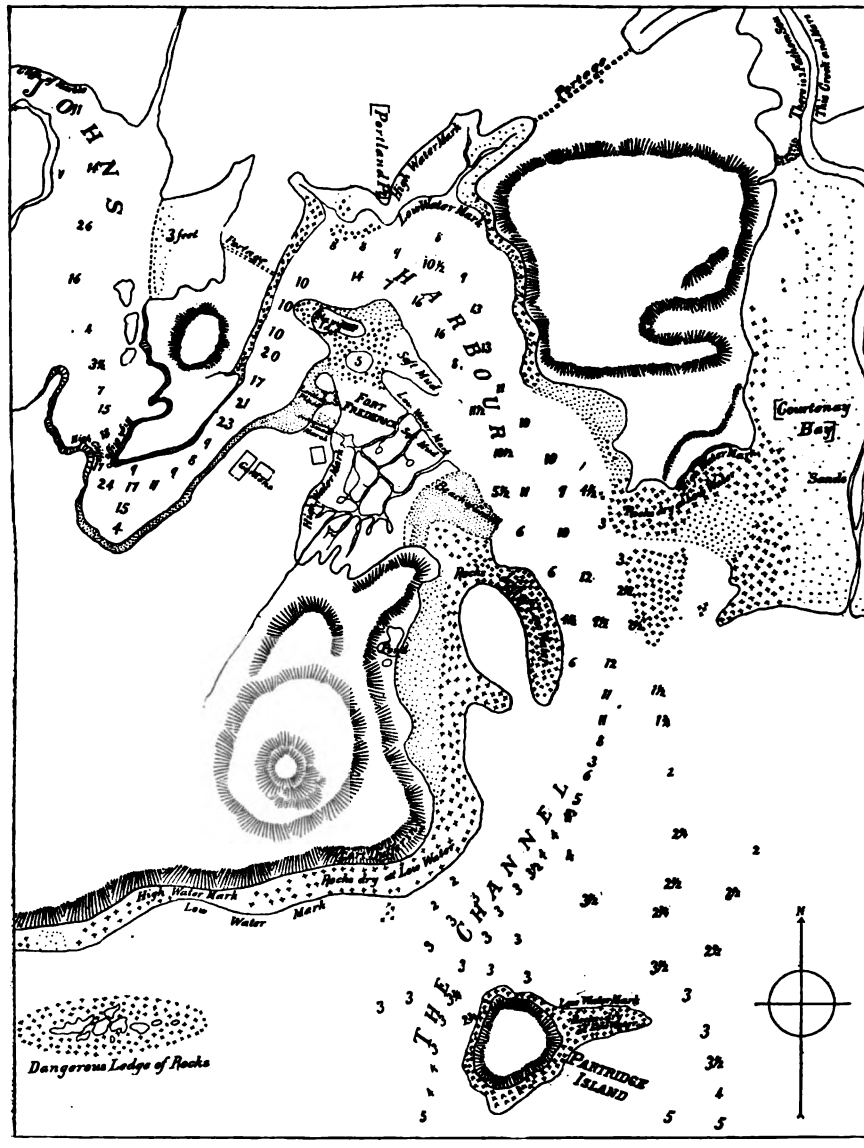

NO. I. ST. JOHN HARBOR, BRUCE, 1761.

With Some Additions.

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cover from the fort, in which there is only water from pits, which is not very good, no better than that outside the fort. It would have been in my opinion better placed behind the island where vessels anchor, and where it would have been higher, and, in consequence, not commanded by other neighboring places, and would have had good water, as in that which was built by the said late Sieur de la Tour, which was destroyed by d'Aunay after he had wrongfully taken posession of it,"—and so on as has already been quoted at the beginning of this paper.

We do not believe than any modern writer could condense into so few words a description of the habor which would be more easily recognizable. Upon the larger map accompanying this paper, a copy of a portion of Bruce's chart of 1761, which, made from surveys, is quite accurate and shows the harbor unmodified by modern changes, Denys' description can be readily followed; as, indeed, it can be without a map by those familiar with St. John Harbor.

Is it possible to doubt that the island on the left of the entrance mentioned by Denys is Partridge Island, or that the marshes and flats on the same side of the island are the Carleton flats, extending all along the west side of the harbor and merging into the great marshy mud flats now for the most part filled in except for the Mill Pond? How can the flats so described by Denys possibly be the Courtenay Bay flats as required by Mr. Hannay's theory? The beach which is composed of muddy or miry sand, and which extends out into a point, is mentioned next. Can it be doubted that this point is that which is now Sand Point? A modern chart shows even better than the Bruce map the extent and form of these flats, and how well Denys' description applies thereto. This point being passed, he tells us there is a cove (or creek) making into the said marshes, across the narrow entrance of which La Tour built his weir. Can any description be clearer than this? What are the "said marshes," if not the Carleton flats already referred to, now filled in except for the Mill Pond? And the creek is shown with the most satisfying clearness in Bruce's map just above the beach of gravel. Where are the places on the east side of the harbor to which these words would apply?

And now comes the crucial point: "A little further on, beyond the said weir, there is a little mound where d' Aunay built his fort," says Denys. There is such a mound precisely where Denys' says; and upon it long afterwards Fort Frederick stood; there is no other with which it can be confounded. Here then was the site of Charnisay's Fort. How can this description be possibly so forced as to place it at Portland Point, as Mr. Hannay would have us believe? But this is not all; Denys tells us more; "I have not found [it] well placed according to my idea, for it is commanded by an island which is very near and higher ground, and behind which all ships can place themselves under cover from the fort in which is only water from pits [or wells], which is not very good; no better than that outside the fort." There is but a single island in the harbor above Partridge Island, and

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that is very near the mound. It is to-day of about the same height as Fort Frederick, but even now at low tide vessels could lie behind it out of reach of the guns of a fort on the shore. There is no good reason to suppose that the island was higher nearly two hundred and fifty years ago.[1] As there is but a single island in the harbor, this one apparent inconsistency as to its height cannot throw us off the track. Then the point as to bad water: as the Bruce map shows, and as old people in Carleton (according to Mr. Hannay) still remember, the low mound of which we speak was cut off from the main shore by a little marsh, through which ran a small creek, which was filled at high tide, making an island of the mound. Under such conditions good water within the fort was an impossibility, and it could be little better than that which flowed outside. This is less probably the case with Portland Point, which is on high ground backed by rocky hills, conditions which should give good water from wells.

So much for the site of Charnisay's fort. But where was La Tour's? In the next passage we are told: "It would have been in my opinion better placed behind the island where vessels anchor, and where it would have been higher, and in consequence not commanded by other neighboring places, and would have had good water as in that which was built by the said late Sieur de la Tour." La Tour's fort, then, stood behind the island where vessels anchor. Is there any ambiguity here? Can it possibly mean anything other than it stood on the other side of the island (behind it) from Charnisay's on the shore opposite which vessels anchor? This describes Portland Point to perfection: it describes no other site on the harbor. Vessels cannot lie behind any island out of reach of its guns. It stood on higher ground Denys said, and not commanded by neighboring places.[2] Portland Point is much higher than Navy Island and not commanded by it, though it is commanded by Fort Howe Hill. But the conditions of to-day are very different from those of two hundred and more years ago. Then, as we know from records left by the early settlers, the whole present site of the city, and presumably that of the late city of Portland, was covered by a dense growth of trees. Probably through these the small

[1] The island is washing away very rapidly indeed, the estimate of a resident being that 150 feet of the lower end have disappeared within thirty years. Its highest point is at present twenty feet above high tide about the height of the "Old Fort" site. It was probably formerly wooded, and large stumps can still be seen *in situ* upon its northern beach. It is known to be steadily sinking, but the movement probably affects the mainland as well. It consists of gravel overlying slate, and even its highest part may have been lowered much in two hundred and forty years. It is quite possible, too, that the old fort site is higher than when Charnisay built his fort upon it, as the successive rebuildings upon the site would tend to raise it somewhat. An old resident on the island told me that very large numbers of cannon balls had been exposed in the washing away of a clay bank at the northern end, balls which seemed to have been shot from the opposite, *i. e.* the Portland shore. It seems certain that these must have been fired from the fort on Portland Point. Is it not probable that they came from Fort La Tour against the ships of d'Aunay during its vigorous defences? And do they not increase the probability that it was La Tour's fort which stood there, and not Charnisay's which was temporary and probably never besieged, as he had no enemies after it was built?

[2] The strategic value of both the Fort Dufferin and the Fort Frederick sites has been pointed out by Mr. Dole and Mr. Hannay. In this respect Portland Point is a most formidable rival to both the former places, and considering the short range of the cannon of the time rather better than either of them.

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forces of any enemy likely to attack the fort would find it so difficult to drag cannon and mount them that the heights of Fort Howe were considered to be practically useless. There is certainly no hill or height readily accessible from the water which commands the Portland Point site. The case was different from Navy Island, upon which cannon could be landed under shelter and turned against a fort on the Carleton shore. We must admit this discrepancy in Denys' narrative; but in the light of the probability we have mentioned it appears to us to count for very little against the very accurate location implied by his preceding words. It is the only real discrepancy in his narrative. Moreover, there is no other locality about the harbor to which the same objection is not in great measure applicable, and certainly no other to which the full description so well applies.

That there was an old French fort at Portland Point is well known. It stood on what is to-day a grassy knoll, abrupt and commanding, at the south end and east side of Portland street, at the head of Rankine's wharf. Its ruins were found by the New England settlers when they reached the harbor in 1762, and upon its site, one of them, James Simonds built his house, choosing it because it was already cleared.[1] No other site of an ancient fort is known about the harbor, except the two we have mentioned, and had there been such, it could hardly have escaped notice and mention by the early settlers. In the face of all this, does there seem room for any doubt that Fort La Tour was the fort that stood on Portland Point?

(2) There are several maps of the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth centuries which mark Fort La Tour on the east side of the harbour; the earliest I have been able to find which places it on the west side bears date of 1755, and even in the best instance of the latter a second and corrected edition restores it to the east side. So marked is this feature that the statement is not too positive that *all known maps made within a hundred years after its destruction, most of them made by map-makers who had good direct evidence as to its location, if they mark Fort La Tour a*

[1] Mr. M. H. Perley, in his lecture on the "Early History of New Brunswick," printed in *Educational Review*, Vol. IV. No. 9, says; "They [Peabody, Simonds and White] arrived on the 19th of May, 1762 and landed at Portland Point, where there was a small clearing and the traces of an old French fort." Mr. Perley also mentions that skeletons have been found there. Might they be those of the defenders of La Tour's fort, whom Charnisay so cruelly killed? Mr. J. W. Lawrence (Footprints, p. 4) says: "Mr. Simonds erected his dwelling on the ruins of an old French fort, Portland Point." And the map in the same work shows the position of the house.

It is a very interesting fact that the site of the fort is to-day unencumbered by buildings. Its situation is most commanding, affording a most beautiful view of the harbor, Carleton and the river, and as one stands upon it he cannot help thinking how superior it is for the site of a fort to the "Old Fort" site in Carleton. There is deep water immediately in front of it, where in old times vessels used to be unloaded. It has, moreover, a most excellent landing place at all tides, while the "Old Fort" site has not. But little is known locally about the place. Mr. John McAllister of St. John has told me that cannon balls have been found on the site, and he writes me that, ten years ago, as a drain was being dug around the base of the hill, "the workmen, when about five feet from the surface, drew my attention to a pavement of stone very neatly and firmly made, about five feet below the surface, evidently showing that some careful work had long ago been done there." This point is interesting. Careful paving was likely to have been done in connection with La Tour's powerful fort, not with Charnisay's temporary and weaker one. A workman told me that excavation showed that the hill is partly artificial as clay had been brought to build it up. It is well known that the original Simonds house stood upon it.

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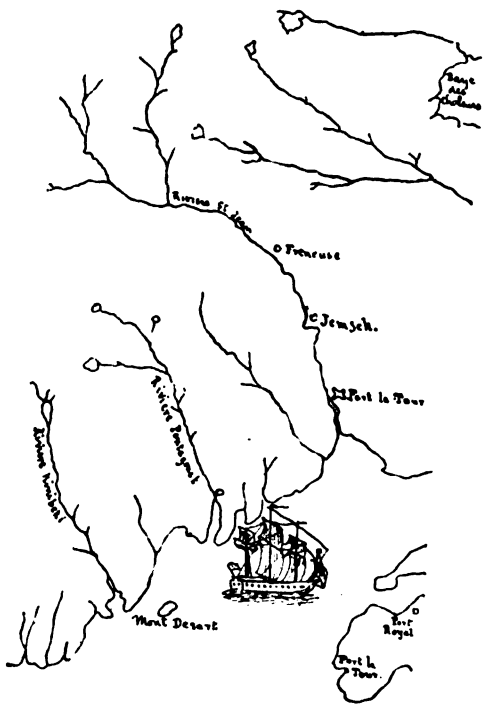
all, place it upon the east side of the harbor.

It is true that evidence of this kind must be used with caution, for map-makers often copied directly one from another, and if the first were wrong a long following series might be also misled. This important source of error can be eliminated, however, if it can be proven that a



NO. 2.—MASSAHCUSETTS ARCHIVES, 1680.

number of maps showing a certain feature were made independently of one another, and especially if it can be shown that some of them were made from actual surveys. In the following notes on the early maps bearing on our subject we have selected only those which appear to be of this nature, neglecting all of those which were obviously copied from another.[1]

MAP NO. 1.—The first map we offer in evidence is entitled :—

Le Canada, faict par le Sr. de Champlain ou sont La Nouvelle France, La Nouvelle Angleterre [*etc.*], *suivant les memoires de P. Du Val, Geographe du Roy, Paris, 1677.* It is not necessary to offer a tracing of this map. On the east side of the river at its mouth there is shown a square fort with no name, but the number 14 attached. In the copy I have examined, through the kind courtesy of Professor E. N. Horsford, of Cambridge, the key explaining the numbers is missing, but the map has so much in common with later ones which mark the fort, Fort La Tour, that we can hardly doubt that such is the name attached to this figure in the key.[2] In any event, it is important to notice that the only fort at the mouth of the river St. John is on the east side. This map was made in Paris, where its author presumably had access to the most reliable materials. This was in 1677—long before Villebon or any other French general had rebuilt either of the forts at St. John. There are earlier editions of this map in the French Archives—of 1664, and even

[1] There is mentioned in Marcel's "Cartographie de la Nouvelle France," a map of 1607, on which there had been subsequently marked the site of the settlements, including La Tour's in Acadia. In applying to M. Marcel in Paris I find that the map has now passed out of his possession; it might be of very great value in this connection. Although I have made every effort, with M. Marcel's assistance, to trace it, I have so far not been successful.

[2] This map is reproduced in Prof. Horsford's superbly illustrated "Defences of Norumbega," fifth map facing page 70. I have found, since the above was printed, that the No. 14 does not apply to the fort but to the river. This does not, however, weaken the force of the argument—the only fort marked is on the east side of the river.

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earlier, but we do not know whether they show the fort.[1]

MAP No. 2.—Our second map is most important. It is a portion of a manuscript sketch contained in Vol. II. p. 11, of the "Documents collected in France," now preserved in the Massachusetts Archives in the State House at Boston. It is really a map of New England, but shows a portion of Acadia. It bears date of 1680 and shows every evidence of having been made independently of No. 1. Its author is unknown, but he must have had an actual knowledge of the St. John River, for both Freneuse and Jemseg, the only other places marked on the river, are in their proper positions; just where we know from other evidence they really were. We can hardly conceive that only thirty-five years after its fall, and when its position could not have been confounded with that of any later built fort (Villebon's after 1696 being the earliest of which we have any record), that a mapmaker, whose knowledge of the river enabled him to correctly place the only other places marked on it, could have erred as to the site of Fort La Tour.

MAP No. 3.—The map of 1689, made by Coronelli and Tillemon, published in Paris, is the most complete and accurate of its time. Its author appears to have had information not accessible to DuVal, as witness a number of very different names upon the north shore of New Brunswick, and does not appear to have used map No. 2 above, since he omits Freneuse and Jemseg. It is well known that the old map makers were too anxious to fill with names the blank spaces on their maps, to leave

NO. 3.—CORONELLI, 1689.

out any which they could get backed by good authority. That it locates Fort La Tour on the east side must have had great weight in this discussion. It is to be noticed that it antedates the building of Villebon's fort—the first one built on the harbor after the destruction of Fort La Tour.

MAP No. 4.—In the "Fourth Part of the General Pilot describing . . . America," London, 1707, there is a map entitled:

A Chart of New France, New Foundland and New Scotland and part of New England. By Jer. Seller and Cha. Price. There is every reason to

[1] As this paper passes through the press, I have received from M. Henry Vignaud of Paris, a letter in which he tells me that the two earlier editions of this map—of 1653 and 1664—both have it on the *west* side. The only answer I can give to this unexpected fact is that the maker of the 1677 edition saw good cause to change the fort from the west to the east side; but what that evidence was we can only conjecture.

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believe that this crude map was in large part made by Syprian Southack an English captain who coasted much on the shores of Acadia and who made several maps of this region. His name appears frequently upon this map, and its whole appearance corresponds closely to that of other maps which bear his name as maker. I may add that the remarks made in the present paper as to the authorship and authenticity of various maps are the result of careful studies, made entirely apart from the present discussion, in connection with a study of the Cartography of Acadia, which I hope in time to be allowed the honor of placing before this society.

The map is very crude, and both names and typography are given with but little reference to previous maps, but it is one undoubtedly made from real surveys. It certainly belongs much before 1707, the date of the atlas which contains it. Since Southack was with Church on his expeditions east, and as Fort Nashwaak is not shown, this probably represents the region before the siege of the latter by the English in 1696, and before Villebon's fort was built at the mouth of the river. The rough sketch of St. John Harbor is what chiefly interests us at present, and there we can easily recognize Partridge Island, the Falls, the wooden fort, well known to have stood at the mouth of the Nerepis, and the village at Indiantown, here dignified by the name of St. Johns Towne. Then we see two forts, of which that on the east side is the larger. This is a point of much importance, since it shows the larger of the ruins of the forts to have been on the east side. As La Tour's was without doubt a larger fort than Charnisay's,[1] and as Villebon's fort is shown by his own letters to have been simply the old fort in Carleton repaired, this map helps to increase the probability that La Tour stood on the east side.

Another map of high authority, and great accuracy for its time, is *Carte du Canada, ou de la Nouvelle France. Par Guillaume de l'Isle, Paris, 1703.* It also places Fort La Tour on the east side, as do Moll's maps of 1715–1720. A number of other maps could be mentioned which do likewise, but, as they obviously follow one or the other of these we have mentioned, their testimony is of slight value.

TRANSITION MAPS.—We now come to a series of maps upon which the name of Fort La Tour does not appear at all, though forts are marked either upon one or both sides of the harbor, and called either simply "fort," or else "French fort," or even Fort St. Jean. Such are those of Popple of 1733, Bellin of 1744, Mitchell and Jeffery's of 1755 and many others. This is the period in which the real site of the fort has become confused by the fact of others having been built upon its site, and also upon the site of Charnisay's and the best map-makers had dropped the name La Tour altogether. But in 1755 there appeared two maps, made by two of the greatest French cartographers, Bellin and d'Anville. Both of these men are renowned for their accuracy in matters of detail; they endeavored to reject all names for

[1] As Mr. Han nay points out, two or three references to the Carleton fort speak of its small size,

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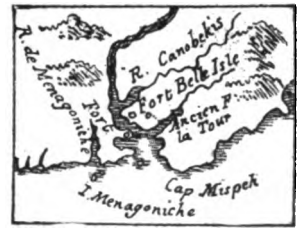
No. 5.—Bellin, 1755.



No. 7.—Bellin, 1757.

No. 6.—D'Anville, 1755.

which there was not good authority, and to restore all which were authentic. Both restored "Fort La Tour," and both for reasons we do not understand, and which indeed do not greatly concern our present purpose, placed it upon the west side of the harbor, at Old Fort Point, in Carleton,[1] as is most clearly shown upon the annexed sketches (Nos. 5 and 6). Very many later maps follow them exactly, but I find none earlier that give this feature. Now even had we no other evidence upon this point, the testimony of these two maps, made so long after the destruction of Fort La Tour, and when its site might well have become confused with the other forts built by the French about the harbor between 1690 and 1750, could not be considered as of much value in comparison with that of the earlier and nearly contemporary maps made in Paris, near the best sources of information, before any other forts were built. But happily we *have* other satisfactory evidence. Two years later (in 1757) Bellin issued a new edition of his map of Acadia, corrected in several respects, and upon that, as shown by the sketch herewith given (No. 7), he places the fort upon the east side, marks its position by the conventional circle, and then calls it "Ancien Fort La Tour," and renders it absolutely certain to what this legend refers by joining the two by a short line of dots. The use of the word "ancien" here is most significant; it appears upon no other map I have seen. Is there any way of avoiding the conclusion that Bellin, after his 1755 edition, had seen evidence which satisfied him that the true ancient Fort La Tour had stood not upon the west but upon the east side, and that he therefore placed it in the latter position in his second edition, adding the word "ancien" to show that he referred to the real *old* fort which La Tour built?[2] D'Anville himself published no later edition of his map, so we cannot know what his later opinion would have been. Bellin's 1755 map was extensively copied, while the 1757 map was not. This is probably due to the fact that the former was issued separately as an ordinary map, while the latter appeared only in a volume of the work "Histoire generale des voyages," (vol. XIV). The testimony of the late maps which place Fort La Tour upon the west side appears by this to be quite nullified, and the statement seems therefore justified

[1] Bellin, in his description of his 1755 map, says, p. 41; "Sur la Pointe occidentale il y a un petit fort nomme Fort La Tour." In 1755 then he clearly thought Fort La Tour had stood upon the west side.

[2] It is well known that in 1750 the French had a fort on the Old Fort site in Carleton. This perhaps helped to confuse Bellin and d'Anville, who would have supposed that it stood on the old La Tour site.

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that all known cartographical evidence points us to the east side of St. John's Harbor for the site of Fort La Tour.

The succession of forts in the harbor would seem to be as follows: in Carleton, at "Old Fort," Charnisay's Villebon's Fort Frederick; at Portland Point Fort La Tour.

I know of no evidence, documentary or cartographical, and no line of argument from induction, or from indirect evidence which I have not mentioned, which is opposed to the conclusion to which I have been forced and which is discussed in this paper.

In conclusion, then, in the light of the fact that the only contemporary narrative we have, that of Denys, proves the fort could not have been at Old Fort Point, but, on the other hand, gives us strong reason for believing that it was at Portland Point, and in the light of the fact that all evidence from maps points to the east side of the harbor, where only a single fort site, that at Portland Point, is known, or has ever been recorded or referred to, does it not seem that it is at Portland Point we must find the site of Fort La Tour.

W. F. GANONG.

APPENDIX.

From "Description geographique et historique des costes de l'Amerique Septentrionale" (Par Nicolas Denys, Paris, 1672.)

L'Entree de la riviere saint Jean est de dangeruex abord, rangeant la, terre des deux cotez; le meilleur endroit est du cote de Stribord ou main droite, sans trop approcher la terre: cette entree est etroite, a cause d'une petite Isle qui est a Basbord, ou coste gauche, laquelle passee, la riviere est bien plus large: du mesme cote de l'Isle, il y a de grands marais ou prairies qui sont couvertes de plaine mer, le rivage est sable vaseux, qui fait une pointe, laquelle passee, il y a une ance qui entre dans lesdits marais, dont l'entree est etroite, ou feu Monsieur de la Tour avoit fait faire une ecluse, ou l'on peschoit un grand nombre de ces Gasparots que l'on faisoit saller pour l'Hyver, il s'y en peschoit quelques-fois une si grande quantite que l'on etoit oblige de rompre l'ecluse, & de les jetter a la mer, autrement ils auroient empuanty l'ecluse, qui en au roit este perdue, on y truvoit aussi quelques-fois des Saulmons, des Alozes, & du Bar, qui est le maigre de la Rochelle, qui servoit tous les Printemps d'une grande mane pour ceux du pays.

Un peu plus avant, au dela de ladite ecluse, il y a une petite butte, ou d'Aunay fit batir son Fort qui je n'ay pas trouve bien place a mon avis, estre commande d'une Isle qui est tout proche plus elevee, & derriere laquelle tous Navires se peuvent mettre a couvert du Fort, dans lequel il n'y a que de l'eau de puits, qui n'est pas bien bonne non plus qui celle qui est hors du Fort: Il auroit este a mon avis mienx place derriere l'Isle ou mouillent les Vaisseaux, & ou il auroit este plus eleve, & par consequent point commande d'autres endroits voisins, & auroit eu de bonne eau, comme dans celuy que fit bastir

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ledit feu sieur de la Tour, lequel fut ruine par d'Aunay apres s'en estre rendu le maistre assez injustement, n'y ayant aucun droit, ce qu'il auriot eu bien de la peine a executer s'il n'enst este adverty de l'absence dudit sieur de la Tour, qui avoit mene avec luy une partie de son monde, & n'avoit laisse que sa femme avec le reste des siens a la garde du Fort ; laquelle apres avoir soutenu pendant trois jours & trois nuits toutes les attaques de d'Aunay & l' aqoir oblige de s'eloigner de la portee de ses canons, fust enfin obligee de ceder le quatrieme jour qui etoit le jour de Pasques, ayant este trahie par un Suisse qui etoit en garde ce jour-la, pendans qu'elle faisoit reposer ses gens, esperant quelques relaches. Le Suisse se laissa corrompre par les gens de d'Aunay, & souffrit qu'ils montassent a l'assaut, qui fut encore soutenu quelque temps par la Commandante a la teste de son monde, qui ne se rendit qu'a l'extremite, & sous condition que ledit d'Aunay donneroit quartier a tous, ce qu'il n'executa pas, car s'etant rendu maistre de la place, il les fit mettre tous en prison avec la Commandante, ensuite de l'avis de son conseil, les fit pendre, a la reserve d'un seul qui eut la vie sauve a la charge qu'il en feroit l'execution, & la Commandante les assista a la potence la core au col comme auroit este le plus grand scelerat : Voila le tiltre dont le Borgne s'est servy pour pretendre comme Creancier dudit sieur d'Aunay la propriete de la riviere saint Jean.

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THE HISTORICAL NOVEL AND AMERICAN HISTORY[1]

IT is claimed that the historical novel has lately fallen somewhat into disfavor. With all its attempts to suit modern tastes, it will not quite come up to the measure of intoxication required by a great many. And on the other hand, while failing in the eyes of some as a fiction, it will fail in the eyes of others as history. This is a scientific age, in the writing of history as in the pursuit of the study of physical nature. We must be careful with our facts, we must clearly indicate our authorities. Unless we can go back to original sources, or unearth documents not hitherto published, or not even seen by other writers, we had better not presume to write history at all. And when we come to disputed points we must present all the pros and cons, and be very cautious about giving our own opinion, if we give any opinion at all—which perhaps we had better not do. And there are some injudicious persons, critics and others, who insist that the historical novel shall conform itself to all these particulars of historical criticism.

This, of course, the historical novel cannot do. It does not take the place of history. Those persons make a great mistake who imagine that they can address themselves to the pleasant task of reading an indefinite amount of historical novels, thereby excusing themselves from the more laborious undertaking of wading through volumes of history. The historical novel can never supplant historical reading or study. As an ingenious critic remarks: "A good three-fourths of all its admirers, one dare guess, are persons who have discovered in it an easy means of settling accounts with conscience. While sacrificing few or none of the delights of a tale, they are, they fancy, extracting from it all the riches of mining into the toughest history."

For the historical novel does not properly *teach* history. It is not intended to give us a list of facts and dates. It does not deal with circumstances and personages in order to make us acquainted with them for the first time. On the contrary, if it is properly utilized it will *stimulate* the study of history. It will send us back to our "history books" to get a clear and cool understanding of the events or the persons about whom our profoundest interest and warmest sympathies were made to centre by the art of the novelist. So, in this sense, it will be an immense *help* in the teaching of history. But if the teaching has already taken place, if the reader comes to the novel with his mind full of the facts, it will be readily seen

[1] *Standish of Standish.* A Story of the Pilgrims. By Jane G. Austin. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York. 1892.

My Lady Pokahontas. A True Relation of Virginia. Written by Anas Todkill, Puritan and Pilgrim. With notes by John Esten Cooke. (Same publishers.) 1891.

The Lady of Fort St. John. By Mary Hartwell Catherwood. (Same publishers.) 1892.

Zachary Phips. By Edwin Lassetter Bynner. (Same publishers.) 1892.

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that he is in excellent position to enjoy the fiction. He will move among familiar things, but he will see them in a new light. For, in another sense, the historical novel is an aid in teaching history. The knowledge of history is not properly a mere collection of items—battles, kings, dynasties, revolutions, years, months, days, patriots, tyrants, what not. It is a necessary adjunct to historical knowledge that we possess some historical imagination, that this jumble of items and actors and dates have some significant inter-dependence or inter-relation among themselves. We must be able to transplant ourselves to these preceding times and circumstances. All those old saws of "History repeats itself," and "Human nature is always the same," mean a good deal. There always will be certain moral forces and intellectual movements abroad among men, whatever be the age, which will exert certain influences that can be calculated. Happy is the student of history who can appreciate the operation of these at different stages of the world's history. It will make every age alive for him with a human interest, and it will make him understand much better the bearings of events in his own age. But for this he needs to cultivate the faculty of historical imagination, to put himself in the place of people in other times. Now it is self-evident that for cultivating this necessary and useful faculty, historical fiction will be a prime aid. An historical novel may make very free with the facts; it may quite radically twist actual circumstances; it may even make some havoc among dates; but it will be a poor production if it do not reflect faithfully the age to which it transports the thought, if it do not make us live over again the days of yore. It may send the reader for historical *information* to the school-books, and these may correct many a number or incident; but the novel must guide with unerring hand the reader's historical *imagination*. As some one wrote the other day: "A historical novel which merely paraphrased history would be a deplorable affair indeed. If simple narration of facts is all that we ask, we may well insist that we shall have them uncolored. But the true value of the historical novel is to be sought in its adequacy as a picture of the time."

We notice therefore, at once that the historical novel may come into conflict very often with an unreasonable demand for scientific historical accuracy and still be a very good historical novel. It cannot, from the very nature of the case, be a scientific treatise. How, for instance, could it deal with mooted points? Upon such, several weighty authorities may perhaps be brought forward, with opinions all differing. A novel writer may happen to have nice historic discrimination and judgment, and hit upon the best opinion, and conduct his whole plot, or turn some crisis or catastrophe, upon the assumption of that single view. But that would be a mere incident or accident of his fiction. Some view he must select, whether the best or not; and whether he has duly weighed that selection or not, he cannot burden his pages with a discussion of the merits of the case. Let him only use his point of view skillfully for his tale, and faithfully for his times and his persons, and we

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shall be content. We can then close the novel, and open some historical treatise if we wish to get at the exact or well balanced decisions of various authorities. There is always enough undisputed history to be a secure guide to an understanding of any given period, and to enable the novelist to properly train his own or his reader's historical imagination.

These observations lead us again to another obvious caution. That is, the novel must not be sunk or lost in the history—we must not have so much of the history that we forget all about the tale. The novelist should enlist our interest in the characters (both the historic ones and others) and in the plot. The novel, it is not to be forgotten, is a work of art. The historical novelist cannot escape the obligation of the artist. He must contrive, invent, devise; he cannot maintain his character and simply transfer what history has brought about, to his pages without more ado. This applies to the fictitious persons as well as to the fictitious circumstances. We do not want these people thrown upon the pages of the historical novel as mere puppets, to off-set the historic characters, or to give them somebody to talk to, or to be married to, if we do not know whom they *were* really married to.

We must be careful again that we do not overdo the reproduction of a former age by means of the personages of the story. By making them too exactly the persons of a distant age, we may get out of touch with them altogether, and therefore lose interest in the narrative, and thereby find the novel spoiled for us again. Taine complains of Scott in this wise: "And yet is this history? All these pictures of a distant age are false. Costumes, scenery, externals alone are exact; actions, speech, sentiments—all the rest is civilized, embellished, arranged in modern guise." Well, we are glad it is. We can carry realism in art too far. The landscape upon the canvas cannot be the actual landscape of sky, and earth, and trees, and river, no matter how exactly reproduced. The cunning hand of the painter follows unconsciously, but inevitably, the idealizing, the thinking of his head. We could not understand the dialect of Ivanhoe, perhaps with difficulty even that of the Earl of Leicester, or of Nigel; we certainly would be shocked out of measure if their speech were exactly transferred to that of our own day. Taine's complaint, while it has philosophy in it, and appeals to the scientific sense, cannot be well taken artistically. We want characters we can like; they need to be a little nearer to ourselves, therefore, than they could have been one, two, three and more centuries ago. We do not mind how exact are the externals—costumes, scenery, etc., but we are somewhat shy of the words and actions. We are glad that "Walter Scott pauses on the threshold of the soul, and in the vestibule of history, selects in the Renaissance and the middle age only the fit and agreeable, blots out plain-spoken words, licentious sensuality, bestial ferocity." We shall understand the spirit and force of former ages sufficiently without entering into the precise details of the latter characteristics. Actual history will help us out

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well enough in appreciating this grossness. We can afford to have it absent from the pages of our novels, where we have to listen to actual conversations, and where we need to be shocked only at the language and acts of the villains.

Now if there be any history fit for furnishing events and episodes upon which to exercise the inventive powers, that history is American history. What a rich field affords the whole age of the discovery, from the time of Columbus to that of Hudson! How thrilling is it to follow the bare record of De Soto's wanderings, and to look with him for the first time upon the great "father of waters," the Mississippi! Nor could our most artful inventor much improve upon the exciting adventures of a La Salle, who travelled along that mighty stream all the way to its mouth, and then back again and along the great lakes on his return to the St. Lawrence. What work of fiction could exceed the interest awakened by the exploit of Coronado in following up the course of the Colorado river far into the heart of the continent, which was then hardly suspected to be of such vast proportions? And then come the times of the settlements of the various colonies. Tragedy, wildest adventure, noblest endurance, invincible courage, steady perseverance, final success; treachery, meaness, cruelty, revenge—who shall enumerate the immense variety of potent qualities to make us the very best kind of a story, which come to the foreground in the history of all these colonial beginnings? And then the gradual growth of the ideas and the sentiments of solidarity, of national being, of national unity—what materials here for narrative, for the skillful unfolding of character, for the noblest instructions in political philosophy! We scarcely need mention the many opportunities for apt story-telling which abound through all the dark and thrilling years of the Revolutionary war—what grand characters come to the foreground here; what foolish selfishness, blind partisanship, suicidal injustice to a nation, contrasted with self-devotion, sacrifices, forbearance, and final acceptance of the dangerous challenge. If feeble resources, inadequate numbers, inexperience, and untried powers, in contrast with might and prestige and boundless resource, make a heroic situation, surely here is a fine field for genius in the shape of the novel. Nor is our subsequent history—the consolidation into federal union; the marvelous growth in extent of territory, and in wealth and population; the creeping of the *black shadow* over the fair horizon of our prosperity, bursting into the lightning and havoc of civil war, and followed by the serene calm of a reunion firmer than ever—neither shall these years of the latest century of our American history be found void of intense interest for one who would immortalize them upon the pages of a work of inventive genius.

We accordingly find that prominent names are already identified with this department of American literature. After Cooper, half in jest, half in earnest, had written his first novel, the failure of which only indicated another road to success, he gave to the world his story of *The Spy*, which takes us into the heart of the Revolu-

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tion. When he was induced to try his hand at sea-tales, and to show that he was a better sailor than the "great unknown" author of *The Pirate*, he wrote *The Pilot*, and it was our first naval hero, John Paul Jones, again of Revolutionary days, whose exploits were detailed, without the naming of his name. Once again the Revolutionary period was laid under contribution by Cooper, and in *Lionel Lincoln* we were carried along the road to Lexington and Concord, we see the British battalions mowed down at Bunker Hill, and are treated to the view of Dorchester Heights fortified by stealth and necessitating the evacuation of Boston. And thenceforth a constant stream of novels, very greatly varying in merit, proceeded from Cooper, touching in *Mercedes of Castile* the undertaking of Columbus; in *Wept of the Wish-ton-Wish* the settlement of Connecticut; in *Satanstoe* and others the conditions of colonial life in the middle of the eighteenth century; in *Miles Wallingford* and others the early days of federal government; and in several more, phases of life at the middle of the present century. Indeed the famous "Leatherstocking Series" reach, in the lifetime of its chief character, from the days of the French and Indian war to the early movements in the development of the great West after the federal government had been firmly established. It has been the fashion to disparage Cooper somewhat of late, to consider his stories as fit only for juvenile readers, and especially boys. But their standard is higher than that. While his characterization is very feeble; while especially his heroines are all cast in the same oppressively correct mold of monotonous propriety so that the tiresome young lady of *Precaution* is more or less of a piece with all those who follow her, yet Cooper is a master in narration, is no mean hand at a plot, is unsurpassed as a story-teller of the sea; and, after all, he has succeeded in making one creation of his genius immortal, to-wit, old Leatherstocking himself. But the great merit of Cooper is his love of country, which is with him a passion, and so pervades and burns along his pages as to warm the heart of the coldest of his readers. No American scholar then should be unfamiliar with these tales; if we do not read them for the literature of them, we should do so to stimulate our patriotism. They will incite to a more loving perusal of our country's annals. And we can conceive no higher, no nobler result of the historical novel than to thus enlist the interest and the affection for national history.

Even our great Hawthorne—a master of diction, a delineator of character, a student of motive, as Cooper was not—has found it impossible to resist the fascination of American history. In his *Scarlet Letter* he introduces us to phases of early New England life. Yet we can hardly call it a historical novel. The powers of the author are exercised along their usual lines, not so much to depict historical situations, or to use them to carry on his story, as to show us the workings of the human conscience. In *Septimius Felton*, a work that was left in a state of incompleteness at his death, we get some vivid pictures of that earliest battle of the Revolution at Concord and

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Lexington. But again its main use is to aid in the unfolding of physical or ethical possibilities rather than to emphasize history. A specimen of a notable and useful class of novels is the *Hoosier Schoolmaster*. It is indeed more a novel of manners than of history. But in so far as such stories are true to the facts, and are intended to represent these facts as illustrating a state of affairs upon the frontiers that have since become almost the centre of population, they serve a very distinct and a very important historical purpose.

With more or less direct reference to the foregoing remarks, it becomes time now to devote a few pages to the list of novels of recent publication which have given occasion to this article.

Standish of Standish will remind the reader at once, by its very sound, of Longfellow's *The Courtship of Miles Standish*, and it treats indeed of the same period and persons. It furnishes a picture of the first settlement of Plymouth colony by the Pilgrims, beginning with the arrival of the Mayflower on these shores. Although the author's brother, John A. Goodwin, author of *The Pilgrim Republic* (1887) applies the cold scalpel of historical criticism to the singular mode of courting adopted by the doughty captain, and declares the whole incident absurdly improbable, it is too tempting a tradition for the story-teller's purposes, whether in prose or verse, and we find it duly served up for our delectation in the novel. Yet it must be said that it possesses more of probability as wrought over and presented by Mrs. Austin. It is indeed a very pleasing book. We find an illustration in it of one of our points made above, as to mooted historical facts. This lady adopts the notion that Captain Jones—or *Joans*, as Bradford puts it—was bribed by the Dutch to mislead the Pilgrims, calmly overlooking the fact proved by documents now printed that no bribing was necessary, as the States-General had openly forbidden the Pilgrims to settle on the Hudson river, for very sensible reasons of their own. But of course the novel had to accept one theory or the other and on the theory of the bribing, Jones is made to appear in rather an ugly light throughout, although Bradford is very mild in his allusions to him. The characters of this novel stand out vividly. We like the vivacious Priscilla, and it is well to remind us that she is really a French girl, brought up in Holland, else the demure Puritan maid we have been accustomed to look for in her would have been too violently dissipated. Mary Chilton, her friend, has more of that character. But yet we are compelled to say that this novel fails to place the Pilgrims before us *as* Pilgrims. These people are too worldly too little of the flavor of religion is in their talk or actions to comport with the motive that brought them to America. Only one incident is characteristic of their known religiousness—Bradford's stopping ball-playing on Christmas—and really it sits somewhat unnaturally upon the rest of the tale.

My Lady Pokahontas is an attempt at the archaic, an attempt to represent a writer contemporary with the events. It is a pleasant little story, not badly told, but the endeavor to

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reproduce the antiquated style is not very successful. The disguise is constantly broken through ; the pseudo-editor's notes betray too readily the hand of the author. Certainly Anas Todkill is very little of either a Puritan or a Pilgrim ; and it is somewhat of a mystery how he could claim to be both, as there was a very conspicuous distinction between the two characters at the time he is supposed to have written. The Puritans before the days of Cromwell would have been loth to be classed among the Pilgrims. It is doubtful whether Smith at the age of thirty would have fallen in love with an Indian girl of twelve. It is all very pretty and pathetic to have him do so in the story, and for Pokahontas, when Mrs. Rolfe, to die of a broken heart when she finds Smith alive in England. Even if not true as history, it is the novelist's right to represent the case thus. But we wonder if it be this supposititious chronicle which the author of the Columbian Novels series has accepted as serious authority for giving the same turn to his story of *Pokahontas*.

The Lady of Fort St. John takes us up to the Bay of Fundy, into the ancient Acadia, whose later history has given an incident to be immortalized by the pen of Longfellow. It has the charm of great brevity, but merits perusal for something more than that. It is a little difficult to see why the great Dutch colonial leader Van Corlaer is transferred so far away from his usual surroundings and made to meet and to marry the lovely Mrs. Bronck there. But they are both presented in a light quite according with their characters and their history as learned elsewhere. The story has a tragic end, but the agony is not overwrought. The final catastrophe is not dwelt upon in all its revolting horror. It is suggested rather than described. The story gives occasion to enforce the general remark as to the historical novel, namely, that history may be deviated from. For instance, if it were a fact of history that the Lady of Fort St. John was really hung (and surely the wretch D'Aulmay was capable of carrying out his threat), it yet was legitimate for the author to make her die a natural death before hanging, because in fiction our personal interest is appealed to more and is more deeply enlisted, and the novelist may deem it more necessary for artistic purposes to give relief to our feelings by a happy issue, than to work them to too high a pitch by the tragedy.

LEONARD IRVING.

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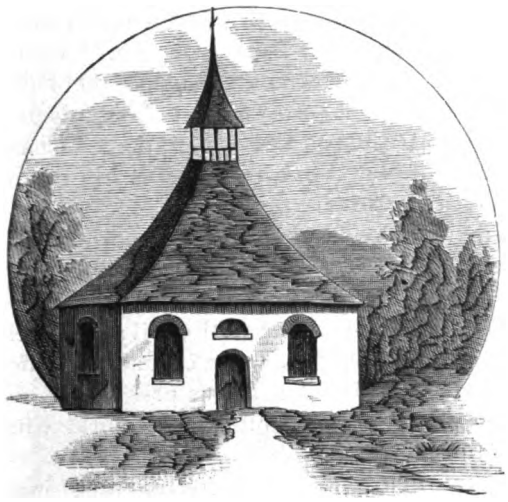
THE STORY OF NEWARK, N. J.

NEWARK AS A CHURCH.



THE FIRST CHURCH.

THE City of Newark, N. J. was the outgrowth of a religious, and, incidentally, a civil controversy that was carried on within the limits of the present State of Connecticut between two Colonies then occupying portions of that territory, the one called the Colony of Connecticut, and the other the Colony of New Haven. The former was founded in 1636 by families from the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, established sixteen years before, and the latter was founded in 1638 by a Christian congregation directly from England. Difference of opinion between these Colonies in regard to religious doctrines affected their peace and prosperity but little at first. Year by year they grew and increased, sending forth from their original settlements families and congregations to form new settlements upon lands that gave promise of suitable abodes and profitable avocations. With few interruptions, peace prevailed among them, but, finally, on the accession of that profligate monarch, Charles II, to the throne of England, the Congregation of New Haven began to fear that the Kingdom of Christ and the churches which they and the adjoining Colonies had established in the new world would be brought to grief. So strong, indeed, was the feeling against King Charles on the part of New Haven that many of the men chosen as magistrates, soon after his accession to the throne, refused to qualify for the office.

Connecticut, however, so far from sharing in the abhorrence of New Haven for the King, and willing to extend its borders by including within them the territory belonging to the New Haven towns, applied to the King for a patent defining its boundaries, and setting forth its privileges. This patent was obtained, and the corporation created by it was called "The Governor and Company of the English Colony of Connecticut in New England." By virtue of it all the towns of the New Haven Colony were added to the original territory of Connecticut. In fact, it covered all the English towns which were then within the present State of Connecticut. This took place in 1662.

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Great was the indignation aroused by this action of the Colony of Connecticut. New Haven denounced it as a great sin and contrary to righteousness, amity and peace. Remonstrances and protests were, however, of small avail. Connecticut would make no concessions, but with seeming indifference to opposition, quietly conducted its civil and religious affairs. Finally, at a general court convened at New Haven on the 13th day of December, 1664, resolutions were adopted, setting forth the willingness of the New Haven Colonists to be put under the Connecticut patent, "but with a *salvo jure* of our former rights and claims as a people, who have not yet been heard in point of plea." To this union of the Colonies, all the towns under the jurisdiction of New Haven assented, with the exception of Branford, and this town was, as we are led to believe, more rigid than any other town in New England in the matter of religion, and especially in the matter of admitting to the full rights of freemen any other than members of the church in full communion.

In the meantime, news came from England that King Charles had granted to his brother, the Duke of York, a very extensive territory in America which included within its limits what is now the State of New Jersey. The lands comprised by this State were, for a consideration, granted and conveyed by the Duke of York to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. These two courtiers prompted, doubtless, by a desire to make the most of their acquisitions, dispatched Philip Carteret, a relative of Sir George, to take possession of the territory that had been granted to them, and to assume all the authority of its Governor. Soon after his arrival in New York, he proceeded to what is now Elizabeth, where, as he had been informed, four families had established themselves, by virtue of a grant from Governor Nicholls, who had recently ousted the Dutch Governor Stuyvesandt, and given to his City of New Amsterdam the name of New York, in honor of his patron, the Duke.

The first act of Governor Carteret was to dispatch messengers to the towns of New England, with glowing accounts of the fertile soil and healthy climate of New Jersey, and with offers of civil and religious privileges, such as no other land in the world could afford.

Promises so flattering, and made with so much show of authority, could hardly fail to receive the attention of the dissatisfied and revolting people of Branford and Milford; the latter town having already as early as 1661 made propositions to the Dutch Governor at New Amsterdam in regard to the settlement in New Jersey, which was then under his jurisdiction. The people of Milford, naturally, were upon the alert. They determined to have the testimony of their own men as to the desirableness of the land in which they were invited to make a settlement. To this end they sent three or four of their most trustworthy men, and among them Robert Treat, to New Jersey. The committee proceeded first to the banks of the Delaware near the site now occupied by Burlington. Not being satisfied with this location, they repaired to Elizabeth, where they had an interview

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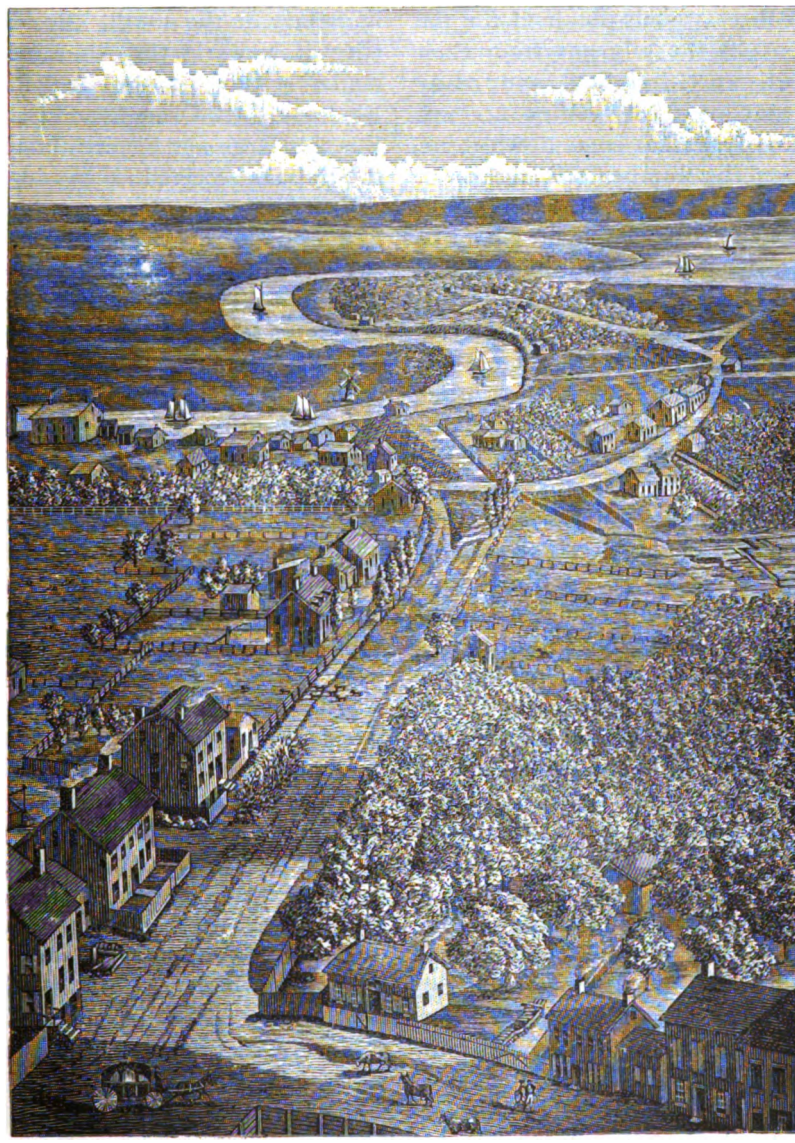
with Governor Carteret, who advised them to visit the banks of the Passaic, a few miles to the northward. Concluding that here they had found a spot in every way suited to their wants, they made an agreement with the Governor, stipulating with him that, in addition to a transfer of possession from the Proprietors, the land should be made over to them free from any claims of its Indian owners. To this end the Committee was furnished by Carteret with a letter to the Sachem who laid claim to the Passaic



OLD NEWARK.

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lands, now covered by the city of Newark. Thus, having accomplished their mission, Treat with his companions, returned to Milford to relate their adventures, and to make early preparations for a removal to their newly chosen home.

In the ensuing spring of 1666, the two or three vessels obtained for the transport of the pilgrims from Connecticut, were freighted and ready for departure. No written account of their voyage has come down to us, nor even the number and names of their vessels. We are not even certain as to whether the people of Branford and Guilford were fellow passengers with those of Milford, or not. But, however this may have been, it is quite certain that these vessels carried about thirty families from the shores of New England, through New York harbor, up the Passaic River, to the lands on the western shore selected by them, and assigned to them by Governor Carteret. Here they would have landed at once, but for the Indians who gathered along the shore, and forbade them to do so until they made good their claim by paying the purchase price. A trip up the Hackensack River to consummate the purchase with *Perro* the chief who claimed a right to the Passaic lands, became a matter of immediate necessity on the part of Treat and a few of the new comers. All this was accomplished without very much delay, and on the return of Treat and his companions, the pilgrims from Connecticut had the satisfaction of leaving their vessels, and entering upon lands for which they had paid in full all charges upon it by the English claimants as well as by the Indian possessors.

The deed for these lands was not put in due form until July 11th, of the following year (1667). By this deed, the Colonists obtained all the lands between the bay on the east, the foot of Watchung Mountains on the west, a branch of the Passaic called Yauntakah on the north, and the Elizabeth boundary on the south. Besides the City of Newark, this tract now includes within its limits, Belleville, Bloomfield, the Oranges and Caldwell. For this large and beautiful territory, the Indians received in consideration "fifty double-hands of powder, one hundred barrs of lead, twenty axes, twenty coates, ten guns, twenty pistolls, ten kettles, ten swords, four blankets, four barrells of beere, ten paire of breeches, fifty knives, twenty howes, eight hundred and fifty fathem of wampem, two ankors of Licquers, or something equivalent and three troopers coates."

On the 13th of March following "for, and in consideration of two guns, three coates and thirteen kans of Rum," the western boundary of the above described tract was extended to the top of the Watchung Mountains.

What was the aspect of that land in those days, when, as yet, "neither hammer, nor axe, nor any tool of iron" had been heard within its borders, can only be imagined. From the decks of the vessels which bore to it the God-fearing pilgrims, the broad meadows through which the Passaic wound its way filled them, doubtless, with varying hopes, while reminding them somewhat of the shores of the Connecticut, from which they had but recently departed. Far off to the west, as they ascend the stream, glimpses are caught of the great

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Mountain Watchung to whose very top their possessions are to extend, and farther and farther as they proceed in its direction, the lands upon their left rise higher above the level of the sea, presenting patches of vegetation which the solid ground alone produces. Away off upon their left ascends from the surrounding meadows, a dense growth of pines and cedars extending as far as the eye can reach, while, protruding from the western border, appears high above the pines and cedars the "Big Snake Hill" with here and there upon its rocky sides, straggling oaks, hickorys and butternuts. And then, as still farther westward and northward they wend their way, the more solid shore upon their left grows higher and higher until, finally, it becomes almost a continuous bluff rising from thirty to fifty feet above the opposing bank, with trees overshadowing here and there a rich carpeting of grass. Here it was that the pilgrims stepped upon the shore, and

What sought they thus afar?
A faith's pure shrine.

Their brethren left by them in Connecticut were, doubtless, just as sincere worshippers of God as they, but considerable changes had taken place in the condition of the Colonists of Connecticut since its first settlement. Nearly all were then church members, strict in their religion, eminent in their piety, and of the opinion that church members, exclusively, should have control of all matters civil and ecclesiastical. This was easy enough at the outset; but, unfortunately for this kind of government, there were no restrictions upon immigration, and no method by which children could be kept continually in leading strings. Consequently, the time came when the number of persons who made no profession of religion was very large. That they should be entirely void of ambition was not to be expected, and that they should be shut out from all the honors and privileges granted to church members was unreasonable. Such, however, was the demand of the clergy and the churches in general, and hence arose the dissensions which resulted in the quiet departure from Connecticut of the pilgrims whom we have just landed in New Jersey.

Connecticut had, indeed, driven out the Quakers, the Ranters and the Adamites, allowing each a residence of only fourteen days; but she had made a sham of church membership by not recognizing a change of heart as a prerequisite thereto. It was under these circumstances that the pious people of Milford and Guilford and Branford shook her dust from their feet.[1] The loss to Connecticut of the most enterprising and best inhabitants of Milford and Guilford was great, indeed, but when the Reverend Abraham Pierson at the head of his Congregation, removed from Branford to Newark, taking with him the records of the town and the Church, the place was almost depopulated. Branford was not reincorporated until 1685.[2]

Prior to their landing in New Jersey the people of Milford, Guilford and Branford had mutually agreed to make one township and to "endeavor the carrying on of Spiritual Concernments as also civil and town affairs according to God and a godly gov-

[1] Trumbull's Conn. I. Chap XIII.

[2] Dwight Hist. of Conn., 164.

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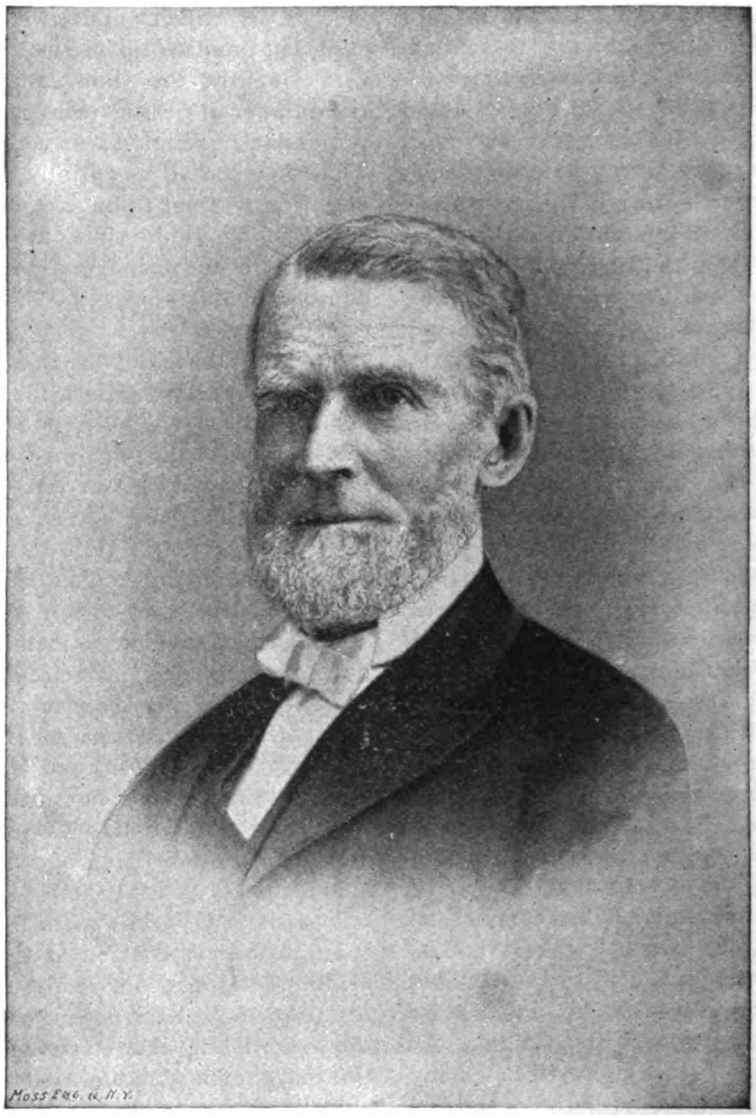

JONATHAN F. STEARNS, D. D.

ernment." To this end, and "for the speedier and better expedition of things then emergent to be done," they chose a committee of eleven of their number clothed with all necessary power.

How many of this band of men and women entered at once upon the labors incident to a settlement in a land hitherto untrodden by civilized beings, neither history nor tradition informs us. From certain items in the "Records of Newark," we must infer that a few of the Colonists, as an assertion, perhaps, of their right to possess the lands, erected thereupon

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tents or other temporary shelters, and dwelt within them during the summer. A meeting of "the present inhabitants" in November 1666, noticed in said "Records," would indicate that before that time, probably early in the autumn, a general settlement had been made under the following fundamental agreement, viz:—

"1st.—That none shall be admitted freemen or free Burgesses upon our Town upon Passaic River in the Province of New Jersey, but such Planters as are members of some or other of the Congregational Churches, nor shall any but such be chosen to Magistracy or to carry on any part of Civil Judicature, or, as deputies or assistants, to have power to Vote in establishing laws, and making or repealing them, or any Chief Military Trust or Office. Nor shall any but such Church Members have any Vote in any elections; tho' all others admitted to be planters have Right to their proper Inheritance, and do and shall enjoy all other Civil Liberties and Privileges, According to all Laws, Orders, Grants which are or hereafter shall be made for this Town.

2nd.—We shall with Care and Diligence provide for the maintenance of the purity of religion professed in the Congregational Churches."[1]

The first proceedings on the part of the colonists before selecting their home lots was to lay out the center or middle streets, and to decide upon a general plan of the town. It was agreed that the middle highways should be eight rods in width, and the other highways four rods in width. It was also agreed that drains and water courses should be made "where they were needful, yea though it shall fall out to be across or within any man's lands or meadows."

Very naturally a sort of clannish feeling manifested itself among these good people when they found their feet planted for the first time upon soil all their own by purchase, but every inch of which was new to them. Acquaintances gathered together, doubtless, in groups expressing their mutual desires to make their homes as near as possible to one another; and this accounts, as we may believe, for the fact that the people from Branford located themselves in one portion of this then wilderness, while those from Guilford went to another and those from Milford and New Haven to still others. They agreed among themselves in all this, and six acres of land to each man was deemed a fair allotment. But this scattering of a few families over a wide and unknown region, being soon regarded as unsafe, the lands whereupon the town should be built up were, finally, divided into three ranges, and each range into lots, and parcelled by lottery. In order to attract Mechanics to the new town, it was decided to set apart certain portions of the place to be called "Tradesmen's lots," one of which was to be given to the first of every trade who should settle permanently in the town. This was done before the lottery took place, and so also reservation was made of the lands now known as Washington Park, and Military Park, as well as a small tract lying within the angle formed by what are now the southerly line of Market Street and the westerly

[1] See Newark Town Records, p. 2.

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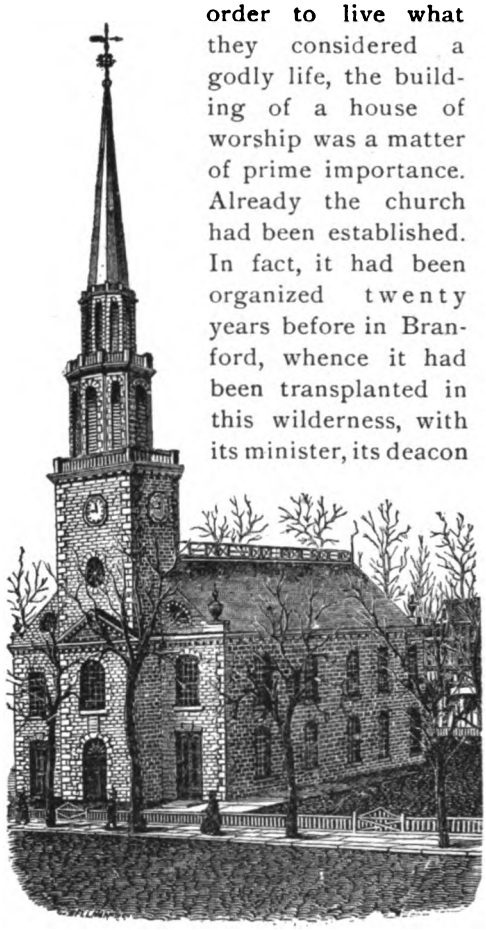
line of Broad Street, taking in the Pond and meeting house.

But to these pious men who had determined to brave all the discomforts of a settlement in the wilderness, in order to live what they considered a godly life, the building of a house of worship was a matter of prime importance. Already the church had been established. In fact, it had been organized twenty years before in Branford, whence it had been transplanted in this wilderness, with its minister, its deacon and its records. Its work had been conducted during its pilgrimage by land and sea, and continued to go on amid the felling of the forests and digging of wells without the ceremony of investing its pastor with his office or salary, or any formal organization or installation. This pastor was the Rev. Abraham Pierson, whom old Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts pronounced a "godly learned man;" of whom Cotton Mather said: "wherever he came he shone;" and who had, in the year 1644 organized, in Branford, the church which he brought to "our town on the Passayack." His salary continued to be what it was in Branford, eighty pounds a year, and eighty pounds was given him for the erection of his house, the digging of his well, and the expense of his transportation from Branford; moreover, he was made free from all ordinary taxes during his life, except the proportion charged on his estate "for ways and drainings in the meadows." To this venerable man Newark is probably indebted for its name, given to it in honor of the town in England whence he came to this country.



THE PRESENT CHURCH BUILDING.

The first public building erected in the newly founded town was the meeting house, which was agreed upon at a town meeting held September 10, 1668; it was ordered that this "Meeting house be of Four or Six and Twenty Foot wide and thirty-four Foot Long, and Ten Foot Between Joints;"[1] and the town "Bargained with Deacon Ward, Sarj. Richard Harrison and Sarj. Edward Rigs for the sum of seventeen pounds to build the same . . . and Some Abatement in the price if they can afford it."[2]

This church was, for such a long period, so closely identified with the interests and movements of the town that it is almost impossible to write the history of the one without involving more or less, the early history of

[1] Newark Town Records, p. 11.

[2] Ibid p. 12.

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the other. For nearly three-quarters of a century no minister was ever called to become the pastor except through a vote of the town meeting. Orginally Congregational in its mode of government, it is now Presbyterian, and is known as the First Presbyterian Church of Newark. As we have already said, its first pastor was the Rev. Abraham Pierson, a native of Yorkshire, England, and born, as we have reason to believe, about the year 1610. He was graduated from the University of Cambridge, and ordained Episcopally, as is believed. After preaching some years in his native country, he came, in 1639, to Boston. In 1644 he organized a Church in Branford, Conn., and during his ministry of twenty years in that place, he distinguished himself by his great zeal and success in the instruction and conversion of the Indians, to the study of whose language he had applied himself diligently. Following in the footsteps of the Apostolic Eliot, he not only preached to the Indians, but prepared a catechism for them in their native language. This catechism was produced in the Narraganset or Pequot language, while that of Eliot was in a somewhat different dialect. It was printed in 1660. The influence exerted by this man of learning and sincere piety upon those who, with him, laid the foundation of the city of Newark can be easily imagined. In everything that tended to promote the welfare of the infant colony he took an active and effective part. At the time of his death, August 9, 1678, the town of Newark was twelve years old. It had a meeting house, a tavern a gristmill, a school-master, a magistrate, a court of judicature, a town clerk or recorder, five selectmen or aldermen, and a fortified place of refuge in case of attacks by the Indians. Associated with this venerable man were Robert Treat, Jasper Crane, Samuel Swaine and other worthies of whom further mention will be made in the following chapter.

The second pastor of this time-honored Church, Rev. Abraham Pierson, Junior, was the son of its first pastor. He was born in Lynn, Mass. in 1641, and was graduated from Harvard College in 1668. At a town Meeting held in July of the following year, it was unanimously voted that the Town "desire and call upon Mr. Abraham Pierson, Junior, to be helpful to his Father, in the exercising his Gifts in the Ministry for the Space of a Year, and for his encouragement they are willing to allow him Thirty Pounds for this Year."[1] On the 4th of March, 1671, at a Town Meeting it was "ordered for the Church to Call Mr. Abraham Pierson Jun'r to be Joined with his Father in Time Convenient for the orderly Effecting It; and they have Agreed upon his Taking Office, he shall have and enjoy his Accommodations Granted him upon the Same Tenor and Terms that other Men In our Town Generally hold the Same." This office, with his "Accommodations" he enjoyed for the period of about twenty-three years, and during most of that period, both before and after his father's death, great harmony and affection seem to have marked the intercourse of the minister and people. But,

[1] Town Records, p. 22.—Ibid. p. 43.

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during this long period, Death was doing its work among the early settlers, and new elements from abroad were coming into the growing Colony. Dissatisfaction arose at length between the people and pastor chiefly on account of differences of opinion in regard to church government, Mr. Pierson preferring a moderate form of Presbyterian government, while the majority of the people were inclined to adhere to the strictly Congregational plan on which the Church had been founded. That the majority would not yield to the views of the pastor is shown in the Town records, wherein it appears that on one occasion, at least, the pastor's salary was not provided in the usual way, by "rating," but that it became necessary to raise it by Voluntary Contributions. During the last two years of Mr. Pierson's ministry, it was not collected in any way, though these arrearages were paid to him in full after his dismission, which event took place in the early part of the year 1692. Mr. Pierson sold at once his house and lands in Newark, and returning soon after to Connecticut, accepted the pastorate of the Church in Killingworth, where he settled in 1694. This place was the original seat of Yale College which was incorporated in 1701. To the presidency of the Institution Mr. Pierson was called, and his duties as such, together with those of his ministry, he continued to discharge with great satisfaction till the time of his death, which occurred on the 5th of March 1707. He was noted as a hard student, a good scholar and a great divine.

[1] Newark Town Records, p. 105.

At the Town Meeting held on the 23d of August, 1692. "It was consulted, consented and unanimously agreed that Mr. John Pruden (Prudden) should be called to be their Minister," and "for the more comfortable Sustenance of his Family in his Attendance therein, that he shall have £ 50 p. annum. and his Fire Wood free."[1] He was settled as the third pastor of the Newark Church in 1692, and served the parish for seven years, when he was dismissed, dissensions having arisen between him and the people in regard to church government. He continued, however, to reside in Newark until the time of his death in 1725, at the age of eighty years.

Rev. Jabez Wakeman was the fourth minister of the Newark Church, having been selected as such at a Town Meeting held August 8th, 1699. He was a young man greatly beloved for his amicable disposition and excellent character. After a short ministry of between four and five years, he died 1704, aged 26 years.

Four or five years elapsed before a successor to Mr. Wakeman could be obtained. The old pastor, Mr. Prudden, who still resided in Newark, was invited to fill the pulpit until another pastor could be found. After the lapse of about a year, one Mr. Samuel Sherman was invited to preach the word on probation, but, about four or five months after, it was ascertained that scandal had been busy with his name, and the Town Meeting resolved "that they would have no more treaty with Mr. Sherman upon the account of a settlement among them."[2] This action of the

[2] Ibid. p. 119.

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Town Meeting was taken February 19th, 1706, and at a meeting on May 17th following "it was voted and agreed upon to improve Mr. Samuel Whittlesey in the work of the ministry among us for the space of one Year."[1] This opportunity seems to have been improved by Mr. Whittlesey, for the town meeting in March of the next year made offers to him of a settlement, but, for some reason not known these offers were declined, and it was not until June 22nd, 1709, that another pastor was obtained.

This fifth pastor of the Church was the Rev. Nathaniel Bowers. He seems to have been a sort of mysterious being, hailing neither from Harvard nor Yale, and without any historical evidence as to whence he came, or as to whether he was, or was not, prior to his coming to Newark, a regularly ordained minister of the gospel. The Town Records, under date of August 28th, 1710 speak of the steps taken "in order to his ordination." In illustration of the deep interest of the town in matters of religion it may be observed that its Records from October 1st, 1705, to August 28th, 1710, are almost entirely taken up with transactions relating more or less to the securing a pastor for the Church.

Mr. Bowers discharged the duties of pastor for more than seven years, his death occurring in August, 1716. The Rev. Jedidiah Buckingham was then engaged as a temporary supply, and continued to fill the pulpit during the latter part of 1716 and the early months of 1717. It was about this time that the first separation from the Old Church in Newark took place, the people dwelling at the "foot of the great mountain called Watchung" becoming sufficiently numerous to demand a house of worship of their own. This organization was, at first, and for many years, known as the "Mountain Society," and afterwards as the "Second Church in Newark." It is now the First Presbyterian Church in Orange, N. J. It was to this infant society that Mr. Buckingham went, after closing his ministry to the people of Newark, and here he remained till within five months of his death, which took place March 28th, 1720.

The sixth pastor of the Church in Newark was the Rev. Joseph Webb, who, on the recommendation of Mr. Andrew, of Milford, was invited by a vote of the town, at a meeting held December 16, 1718 to fill the pulpit "for Three quarters of a Year upon trial—at the Rate of £70 a Year." On the 22nd day of October of the following year he was ordained and installed by the Presbytery of Philadelphia, the first Presbytery ever formed in this country, even as this was the first instance of an ordination and installation in the Old Church by an Act of Presbytery. Neither concerning this matter, nor concerning any change of the Church government from Congregational to Presbyterian can anything be found in the Town Records, nor do we find elsewhere anything authentic on the subject. There is evidence, however, that, for several years after this event the town enjoyed great tranquility as to matters of religion. No disputes, no divisions existing among the people, and all were avowed Presbyte-

[1] Town Records, p. 120.

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rians. The day that was to bring forth discord was not far distant; and it was a Sabbath day, too, a Sabbath day which Saturday's skies and winds promised to be a fair one, and a good one for the nicely cocked hay that covered the fields. Alas, the morning dawned with a threatening aspect A storm was brewing; the hay was in hired men. These all went to the fields with their wagons and their oxen, and in the presence of the church-going crowds carried the harvest to the barns. This was a daring feat on the part of Col. Josiah Ogden, one of the Church's chief supporters; but when he undertook it he meant to justify himself on the ground that

COL. JOSIAH OGDEN SAVING HIS HAY ON SUNDAY.

peril. The church-going people prepared themselves for service with thoughts more intent upon their endangered crops than the hymns and prayers in which they were about to take part, or even upon the command: "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy, in it thou shalt not do any work." Nevertheless, they all went to church resignedly and happily, with the exception of one of the church's most prominent and influential members, with his troop of "the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." It is easy to believe that he was promptly called to account for his horrible sin. and it is just as easy to believe that a man of so much independence would make a bitter fight for the same. The Church did, in fact, censure him. He appealed to the Presbytery, and that body, considering his act as one of necessity, sustained him. This created a breach between the Church and the Presbytery. The

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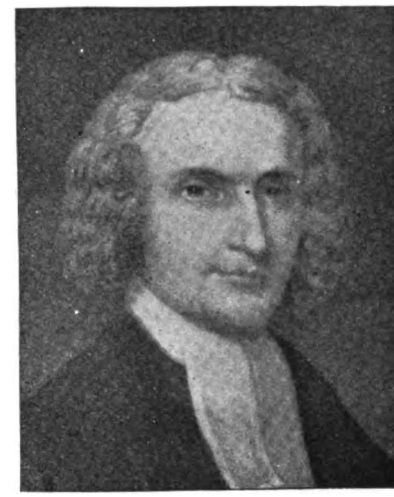
matter was, finally, carried up to the Synod of Philadelphia in 1734, where it continued to be discussed throughout the following year. A violent controversy ensued, many of the people arraying themselves on the side of Col. Ogden, and with such earnestness that they absented themselves from the Church, preferring to take part in the service of the Church of England, for which some new comers to the town had been quietly endeavoring to secure a foot-hold. The result of this bitter fight was that Col. Ogden, and many of those most dissatisfied with Presbyterianism united in the pioneer work which was going on in behalf of the Church of England. Trinity Church was the result of this controversy, and Col. Josiah Ogden became one of its greatest benefactors.

Poor Mr. Webb was little else than a mere looker-on in this religious war. Dr. Macwhorter, in his history of the affair, says of him: "He possessed no gift for controversy, and was hated and contemned by the new party, and sunk into neglect and disrespect with the other." The result was that, in 1736, he was dismissed by the presbytery, after a ministry of eighteen years. Nevertheless, when the Town at its meeting on December 21, 1736, desired Mr. Aaron Burr to preach as a candidate. it was also voted that "Mr. Webb should be improved with Mr. Burr, until the end of the Year now begun should be ended."

On the 30th day of December 1736, the committee appointed by the Town Meeting "treated with Mr. Aaron Burr for further improvement among us in the work of the ministry as a Candidate, and agreed with him for one year to commence from the 10th day of January next, for which service he is to have the sum of £60."[1] This proposal he accepted. The Rev. Aaron Burr thus became the seventh minister settled in due form in the town of Newark, and he was, beyond doubt, the most learned divine that had filled its pulpit, and,



REV. AARON BURR.

withal, a man of profound piety, and great earnestness in his work as a minister of the gospel. When he entered upon his duties the close alliance of the Church with the town was approaching its end. It is true that the town considered itself nominally bound to pay his salary, but it soon ceased to become a matter of general interest and prime importance at the regular Town Meetings. The matter went into the hands of assessors and collectors especially appointed for the purpose. The Old Church of

[1] Town Records, p. 133.

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Newark, with its Presbyterian polity, was no longer looked upon by all the townsmen as the only true church, and as the only rightful participant in the civil government. Three new congregations had been formed within the boundaries of the town, namely the Church at the Mountain, which hitherto had sought no aid from the public for its support, the Episcopal Church, on the upper part of the Military Common, which had been incorporated in 1746, and had built a house of worship, and beside these a Dutch Congregation at Second River, now Belleville, which was within the limits of Newark. This Congregation had, in fact, been established as early as 1727. With these examples of Independence before it, the Old Church deemed it advisable to put an end to its participation in civil affairs, and, accordingly, on June 7th, 1753, during the administration of Governor Belcher, sought and obtained from King George II, a charter which secured for the congregation a distinct corporate existence. All these things would account for the fact that, during the ministry of Mr. Burr, very little is said in the Town Records in relation to the affairs of the Old Church. In them no mention is made of the College of New Jersey, the organization and early fortunes of which are intimately connected with the history of this Church. It is true that this institution was organized at Elizabethtown, and that Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, pastor of the Church in that place, was appointed its President, but in less than five months thereafter he died, leaving the eight students with which the College opened without any instructor. These eight students were removed to Newark, and placed under the care of Mr. Burr, who was one of the charter trustees of the College, and who, in addition to his duties as pastor, had under his direction a large Latin School, with one or more assistant teachers. For about the space of a year, the College without the appointment of another President, maintained its existence in this irregular manner. Jonathan Belcher, at this time Governor of New Jersey, took a great interest in the enterprise, and through his instrumentality a new charter was obtained for the College. Under the new charter, which made the Governor president *ex-officio*, of the board of trustees, the College was reorganized in the meeting house of the Old Church, and its pastor, Rev. Aaron Burr, was chosen President. On the same day, November 9th, 1748, and in the same place, the first Commencement exercises of this now venerable institution were held. A class of seven young men, who had been duly examined, received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. The newly elected President delivered a "handsome and elegant Latin oration" and his excellency the Governor "was pleased to accept of a degree of Master of Arts."

For eight years the college remained in Newark, and during that time about ninety students received their first degree. The want of suitable accommodations for the rapidly growing institution was seriously felt and the effort to obtain these resulted in its removal to Princeton where inducements in the form of lands and money had been offered to it. The

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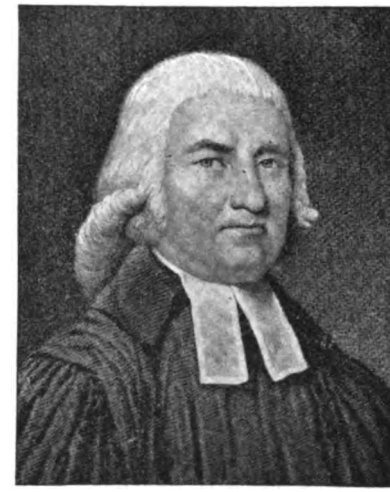
removal took place in the autumn of 1756, and, with the college, went also its President, Mr. Burr, who had, the year before, resigned his pastoral charge, the duties of the two offices being more than he could at the same time discharge. For only one year did he survive this change. He died September 29th, 1757. During the first fifteen years of his ministry, Mr. Burr remained a bachelor. On the 29th day of June, 1752, he married Miss Esther Edwards, the third daughter of Rev. Jonathan Edwards. His wife survived him less than a year, dying April 7th, 1758. They left two children, a son and a daughter, both born in Newark. The son, named after the father, it is hardly necessary to say, was the famous Aaron Burr, Vice President of the United States.

For a period of four years, that is, from the autumn of 1755 to that of 1759, it is difficult to say whether the Old Church in Newark, had, or had not, a regularly installed pastor. The writer of its history up to the latter date, Rev. Dr. Macwhorter, represents this period as one of unhappy contention, mutual recrimination, and division between rival candidates for the pastorate. On the other hand, Rev. Dr. Stearns, in his historical Discourses, adduces what appears to be conclusive evidence that the Rev. John Brainerd filled the pulpit during most of that period, and that he was for a short time, at least, the regular pastor of this church. Prior to this period he had been in charge of the Indian Mission, which was suspended in 1755 by the war with France, which made intercourse with the savages dangerous and difficult. To this field of labor, by advice of the Synod, he returned in 1759, and the pulpit was thus made vacant.

The next pastor of the Old Church, and the first whose call to the office was not voted upon by the Town Meeting, was Rev. Alexander Macwhorter, born in Newcastle Co., Delaware, July 15, 1734. He was of Scotch descent, and the youngest of eleven children, strictly trained by eminently pious parents. He entered



DR. MACWHORTER.

the College of New Jersey while that institution was located in Newark, and was a member of the class graduated therefrom in the last year of the presidency of Mr. Aaron Burr. His theological studies were pursued under the direction of the distinguished Rev. William Tennent, of Freehold, N. J. He was licensed to preach in August, 1758, and was married in October of the same year, having been in the meantime ordained and installed pastor of the Old Church in Newark.

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Although at this time the pastors of the church had ceased to be elected, and their salaries fixed in the Town Meetings, the town had not formally relinquished its control over the parsonage property. It was deemed advisable, and, indeed, important that the town should do this, as the church had now become a body corporate. This property, consisting of several lots and parcels of land and one lot of meadow, had been granted by letters patent to John Curtis, Robert Young and others, as trustees, for the use of a parsonage. These patentees being all dead, and the heir of the last survivor of them, David Young, residing in a distant town, it could not be denied that some steps should be taken to make a permanent disposition of the property. To this end it was voted at a Town Meeting held March 12, 1760, that "the Trustees of the First Presbyterian Church at Newark shall apply to said David Young for a deed of conveyance to them in trust, that so the said Trustees may be the better enabled to be guardians for the same."[1] This deed of trust was obtained the very next day.

It was stated at the Town Meeting held in March of the following year, that the action above recited had "given great dissatisfaction to the inhabitants of said town in general," and therefore it was voted that the parsonage lands "be equally divided in quantity and quality, exclusive of the improvements made thereon, among the three Societies or Congregations,"[2] and a committee was appointed to divide and allot the same. Only four of the six persons appointed as such committee consented to serve thereon, and these four, headed by Mr. David Ogden, reported at a Town Meeting, held March 9th, 1762, a plan of division, with a proviso that four months should be allowed for hearing objections before it should stand in force. After much discussion, it was voted "by a majority of those present, it being a very full Town Meeting (viz): that the division should not be confirmed even with the limitations above mentioned."[3]

Six years afterwards at a Town Meeting, held March 8, 1768, the matter of dividing the parsonage was again brought up, and on this occasion it was "voted by a great majority, that the Parsonage Lands belonging to the Town of Newark be divided between the Three Congregations of the first settlers of Newark, (to wit): The First Presbyterian Church in Newark, the Church of England, and the Mountain Society."[4] A committee of three from each of these Congregations was appointed to make this division. The members of the committee belonging to the Old Church refused to act, and the people of that Church present at the meeting, protested against it, and "desired their protest to be entered upon the Town Book, which was done." For nearly twenty years thereafter the town continued to be disturbed by these contentions over the parsonage lands. Finally the trustees put an end to these troubles by granting a certain portion of the out-lands to the Episcopal Church, and another to the Mountain Society, now known as the First Presbyterian Church of Orange.

[1] Town Records, p. 144.
[2] Town Records, p. 345.
[3] Ibid. p. 147.
[4] Ibid. p. 150.

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Mr. Macwhorter seems to have been a great favorite with his people, and his influence over them was in the highest degree salutary. In everything affecting their welfare, he was promptly at hand, and always efficient. His reputation as a preacher, and a man of solid learning, and great executive abilities was not confined to the field in which he labored. Yale College honored him with the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1766, and a few years later he was made a trustee of the College of New Jersey. With almost every important movement, religious or patriotic, his name was prominently connected; and whatever his hand found to do, he did with all his might. He took an early and active interest in the struggle of the Colonies for independence, and when Washington came to Newark, with his retreating army in November 1776, Mr. Macwhorter either accompanied him in his flight before Cornwallis, or soon after followed and joined him in his camp on the Delaware, opposite Trenton. It is said that, by invitation from Washington, he was present and assisted at the council of war which decided on the memorable crossing of that river, an achievement that brought such disaster to the British arms. Nearly two years afterwards he accepted the chaplainship in the brigade of General Knox, which was then stationed, with the main army, at White Plains. From this field of labor, he was suddenly called home on account of the prostration of his wife by a stroke of lightning, which nearly deprived her of life. Here he remained almost in idleness by reason of the tumult and confusion incident to a time of war, especially in a locality surrounded by hostile troops. Not only almost useless to his congregation, but a burthen to them, it does not seem unreasonable that he should have accepted a call from the Church of Charlotte, North Carolina. Thither he went in October 1779, but here the horrors of war pursued him. The same army that drove him from Newark, despoiled him of his library, of his household furniture, and of nearly everything that he possessed, sending him forth from his newly acquired home in search of another. Traveling northward, preaching here and there, without any permanent settlement, he found himself once more in Newark, in the month of April 1781, and reinstated in his pastoral rights and privileges without reinstalment.

During the war, Newark suffered very much in all its interests, but on the return of peace and quiet, Dr. Macwhorter says, "it soon recovered from its damages, increased fast in its population and quickly began to flourish, especially in manufactories." So scanty had been his own income that he was obliged to eke it out by teaching a small school. In March 1786, however, his salary was raised to £300 a year, and he was requested to give up his school, or to employ an assistant. A year or two prior to the war, the congregation had entered earnestly upon the project of erecting a new house of worship in place of the second house which had for many years been too small for their accommodation. In 1774 the sum of £2000 had been subscribed for this purpose; a site had been selected, materials brought together and trenches for the foundations dug. The war, however,

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put an end to the work. But with the return of prosperity, came the desire to resume the work commenced so many years before, and to the indomitable zeal and perseverance of Dr. Macwhorter was the town indebted for the erection of this large and beautiful edifice. In speaking of the active part which he took in this enterprise, the Rev. Dr. Griffin, his successor, says: "So zealous was he to serve and animate the congregation,

DR. GRIFFIN.

that during the following winter he was daily in the forests selecting timber which had been given him, and encouraging the workmen." The house was first regularly opened for public worship on January 1st, 1791. It cost about £9000 York currency.

Dr. Macwhorter took a warm and active interest in educational matters. The edifice of the College of New Jersey, of which he was a trustee, having been partially destroyed by fire, he undertook a mission to New England in 1802, to solicit the means wherewith to rebuild it, and succeeded in obtaining more than £7000 for this purpose. He was one of the enterprising citizens of Newark who, in the beginning of the year 1792, associated for the purpose of establishing the institution now known as the Newark Academy. His name appears first in the list of its original trustees, and after its incorporation in 1795, became its first president, serving in that capacity till 1807, the year of his decease, an event which created a profound sensation in the community of which he had been so long an honored member. His remains were interred in the burying ground belonging to the church whose pastor he had been for forty-eight years.

This old church whose history had been for so many years intimately connected with the history of Newark, and, in fact, to which Newark was indebted for its birth and early growth, was now becoming simply one of Newark's religious institutions. Three other denominations of Christians had already secured a permanent foothold. The town was becoming more compactly built. A map of it had been published, showing its stone quarries, its streets, its roads to neighboring towns, its dock, its bridge and its public building. As if published by some land speculators, it announced in one corner of it that "Newark is one of the most pleasant and flourishing towns in the United States. It is on the main road between New York and Philadelphia, nine miles from the former, and eighty-seven from the latter. Its stone quarries

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are visited by travellers from curiosity. It is noted for its cider, the making of carriages of all sorts, coach lace, men's and women's shoes. In the manufacture of this last article, one-third of the inhabitants are constantly employed." This puffer of town lots might, also, have truthfully enlarged upon Newark's extensive manufacturing of hats, boots, and shoes, leather, soap, nails, screws, steel springs, woolen goods and many other articles for which people from all sections of the country visited it. He might also have spoken of its "Banking and Insurance Company" with its capital of $400,000, of its excellent schools, of its newspapers, its courts, its lawyers, its physicians, and of much else that indicated its rapid approach to what it now really is—the largest and most active City in New Jersey.

Such was the condition and the prospects of Newark when the good old Dr. Macwhorter was carried to his grave. While at this time, it had, as a town, completely severed its connection with the old church we feel that this chapter would scarcely be complete without a brief mention of the remaining pastors upon whom successively fell the mantle of the Venerable Abraham Pierson to whom justly belongs the title of FATHER OF THE CITY OF NEWARK.

Rev. Edward Dorr Griffin, who was the immediate successor of Dr. Macwhorter, had been installed as his colleague pastor on the 20th of October, 1801, more than six years prior to Dr. Macwhorter's death. He was a graduate of Yale College, and had been licensed to preach since October 31, 1792. In May 1809, after a ministry of about eight years, two of which he was the sole pastor, he removed to Andover, Mass. to assume the duties of Professor in the Theological Seminary in that place. Here he remained two years, preaching, at the same time, on the Sabbath to a Church in Boston. These duties becoming too much for him, he resigned the Professorship, and devoted all his time to the Church until the summer of 1815, when he was called to the pastorship of the Second Presbyterian Church of Newark, a position which he held about six years. In October 1821, he became President of Williams College. Fifteen years of faithful and succesful service in this office had brought him, as he, doubtless, believed very near to the close of his earthly labors. With a desire, as may be supposed, to end his days among those whom he most tenderly loved, he came back once more to Newark, and while there an inmate of his eldest daughter's family, he died November 8, 1837.

The Rev. James Richards became the next pastor of the old church, being at the time of his call, pastor of the church in Morristown. He was installed June 7, 1809. It was in the spring of this year that the first steps were taken in the matter of dividing the congregation, a measure which the great increase of the town's population demanded. A meeting of the congregation was called for this purpose, and a committee appointed to draw up a plan, which having been reported at a subsequent meeting: "It was resolved that, from this congregation, a separate and distinct congregation should be set off, and measures taken to invest it with all the powers and privileges of a body politic." In

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order to accomplish this most advantageously to all concerned, it was further resolved to convey to the new congregation, on the completion of their meeting house, and the settlement of a pastor, two-sevenths of the real estate belonging to the church, with the reserve only of their own house of worship and the land occupied by it. The question which arose as to whether the second church should be located in the north or the south end of the town, was settled by making the offer to that part of the

REV. JAMES RICHARDS.

town which should first complete a meeting house of the dimensions called for in the offer, the people of the south end having the first opportunity, with certain provisos. Although the people of the south end fulfilled the conditions on which they were entitled to the first claim, circumstances arose which caused them to suspend the work, and, consequently, the people at the north end gained the prize, which was subsequently so modified, in view of the early erection of a third meeting house, as to give them one-third of the whole income instead of two-sevenths of the whole real estate. Afterwards, in November, 1825, authority having been obtained from the legislature, the First Church deeded a portion of the parsonage lands to the Second Church, and another portion to the Third Church. In all these transactions, Dr. Richards took a deep interest, endeavoring by every means in his power to promote harmony between the congregations. His rare executive ability, his great discretion and his attainments in theological knowledge, could not fail to make him known far and wide; and it was no surprise to the congregation, that the struggling Theological Seminary in Auburn, N. Y., should covet his services. After appealing to him twice to accept the Professorship of Theology in that institution, he concluded to do so, and was inaugurated to that office October 29th, 1823 having been pastor in Newark a little more than fourteen years. Great success attended him in his new field of labor, and in it he remained until near the close of his life. Universally beloved and full of honors, he died August 2, 1843, in his 76th, year.

The Rev. William T. Hamilton became the successor of Dr. Richards, and was installed pastor of the Church on the 27th day of July, 1824. It was not, however, without a violent struggle that this was brought about. While acceptable to a large majority of the Congregation, there were many opposed to the settlement of Mr. Hamilton, and these, seceding from the First Church, built a new house

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of worship, and constituted what is now known as the Third Presbyterian Church. On the completion of this new building, the old church made an apportionment to the new church equal to that made to the Second Church.

After a ministry of ten years, Dr. Hamilton's failing health compelled him to resign his charge, and remove to the South, where he had already passed two winters with great benefit. His pastoral work in Newark ceased October 22, 1834.

The Rev. Ansel D. Eddy was the successor of Dr. Hamilton. He received the unanimous call of the church, and was installed August 11, 1835. His connection with the First Presbyterian Church continued until February 22nd, 1848. On the 1st of June following he was installed pastor of the Park Presbyterian Church of Newark, which had been organized on the 2nd day of April preceding. To this congregation he ministered during the following seven years.

His successor in the First Presbyterian Church was the Rev. Jonathan F. Stearns D. D., a native of Bedford, Mass., where he was born Sept. 4th, 1808. After pursuing his preliminary studies at Phillips Academy, Andover, he entered Harvard College, and was graduated from this institution with high honor. One of his classmates and, indeed, his roommate was Charles Sumner, subsequently the distinguished senator and always the devoted friend of Dr. Stearns. Very soon after finishing his college course he began his theological studies, which were pursued partly in Andover Seminary, and partly under the direction of his father and his elder brother William.[1] In October 1834, he was licensed to preach and on the 16th of September following was installed pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Newburyport, where he remained for ten years, and where he earned an enviable reputation, not only as a preacher, but as a lyceum lecturer. His fame had already reached Newark, when the pulpit of the old First Presbyterian Church became vacant by the retirement of Rev. Dr. Eddy. An unanimous call was extended to him without having ever been heard, or seen, in a pulpit by any member of the church or congregation. He was installed as pastor in December, 1849, and continued in the active work of the pastorate during a period of thirty-four years, when the infirmities of age compelled him to resign his position. He was not, however, relieved from his arduous duties without a grateful recognition of his services, the congregation to which he had become so greatly endeared making him Pastor Emeritus.[2] In this relation he continued to the day of his death, a period of more than seven years, this making the full term of his service over forty-one years. He died Nov. 11th, 1889.

While faithfully discharging all his duties as a pastor, Dr. Stearns found time to engage in work more or less connected with that of the ministry. Within a year after his settlement in Newark, in 1850, he was made a Director in Union Theological Seminary, New York, in which capacity

[1] Afterwards President of Amherst College.

[2] And voted him an annual honorarium of $2,500.

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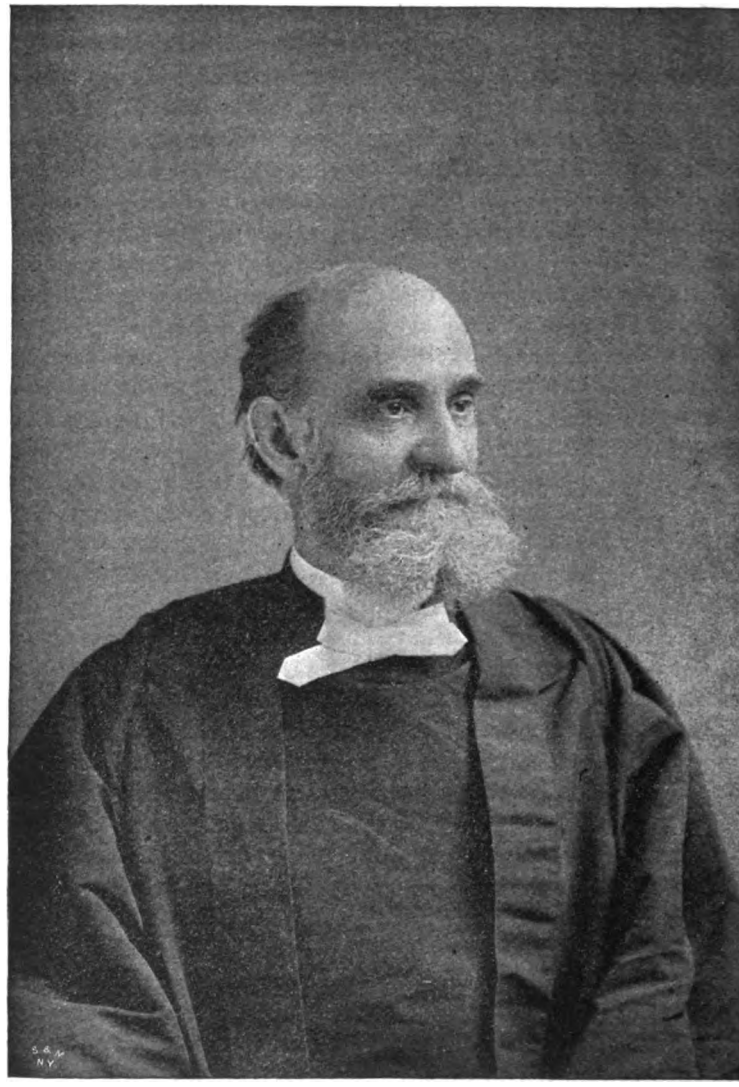

DAVID R. FRAZER, D.D.

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he served thirty-eight years. In the same year the title of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by the College of New Jersey, and in 1864 he was elected a trustee of that institution. The establishment of a German Theological Seminary in Bloomfield, N. J., was largely due to his active labors in connection with those of Rev. Dr. Poor, of the High Street Presbyterian Church of Newark. Of the Board of Directors of this institution, he was for many years President. The part which he took in bringing about a reunion of the Old and New Schools of the Presbyterian Church, attracted to him great attention, and it was, doubtless, in recognition of his great services on this occasion that he was elected Moderator of the General Assembly which met in Harrisburg, Pa., in 1868. In the early days of the Rebellion, he was among the foremost to unfurl the flag of the Republic, and when it was first thrown to the breeze from the spire of the church in which he ministered, he stood beneath it, and to the crowd assembled to witness the sight he said: "If ever there was a sacred cause on earth, we believe this one is. It is just the cause for which the New Testament explicitly commands the unsheathing of the sword in God's name. It is said we cannot carry it through. We reply, we did not take that question into the account when we entered on this struggle. It was a plain duty to undertake it; it was a cause of life or death to the nation, and we must struggle until the power to do so no longer remains." The principal literary achievement of his life was his series of "Historical Discourses relating to the First Presbyterian Church in Newark," a work of great research, to which we are largely indebted for our knowledge of the early pastors of this venerable church.

On the 7th of February, 1883, Dr. Stearns was retired from his pastorate, and on the 21st of the same month, his successor, Rev. Dr. David R. Frazer was installed pastor of the old church, on which occasion Dr. Stearns gave the charge to the people.

To his pastoral work in Newark, Dr. Frazer brought not only the highest intellectual culture, but an experience of nineteen years as a preacher of the gospel, as well as a business education received in his native city of Baltimore, during the interval between his graduation from the High School of that city and his matriculation at the College of New Jersey. From this institution he was graduated in 1861, and from Union Theological Seminary in New York City in 1864. On the 8th of March of the following year he was ordained by the Presbytery of the District of Columbia, and in the ensuing April became pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Clifton, Staten Island. From this place he was called in 1867 to a wider field, the First Presbyterian Church of Hudson, N. Y., where he labored for five years, when the First Presbyterian Church of Buffalo, whose existence is almost coeval with that of the city, called him, and retained him as its pastor for eight years. Brooklyn then sent for him, but the Classon Avenue Presbyterian Church of that city, after three years, yielded to the demands of Newark, N. J., and the Old Church, with a

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history of more than two centuries, received him in 1883, and here he still remains.

Dr. Frazer is the Vice-President of the German Theological Seminary in Bloomfield, N. J., a Director in Union Theological Seminary of New York, a Trustee of the College of New Jersey, in Princeton, and the Recording Secretary of the Board of Church Erection of the Presbyterian Church. Of untiring energy always ready to go wherever duty calls, and always willing to stay as long as duty requires his services, he is pre-eminently a busy man.

FREDERICK W. RICORD.

NEWARK IN 1832.

NOTE. The February (1893) number of the National Magazine having been exhausted by special orders, the above Historical Article on Newark is reprinted from that issue at the request of many who are interested.

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THE BAR OF NEWARK—I.

ITS EARLY DAYS.

NEARLY ten years had elapsed after the first settlement of Newark, before any regular Courts of Justice had been established in the colony of New Jersey. The province was yet in its infancy, and its first legislature which convened May 26, 1668, composed of ten members representing its six towns or settlements, with the Governor and Council, saw no necessity for any Courts of Justice. For seven years thereafter there was not even a session of the General Assembly, but at that session, which took place in 1675, County Courts were erected, as well as a "Court of Assize" which was the Supreme Court of the province, and which, in 1682, under the government of the Twenty-four Proprietors, was called the "Court of Common Right." In the same year was erected a "Court of small Causes" whence sprang our Justice's Courts of the present day. In the same year, too, High Sheriffs were first appointed and Grand Juries first provided for. We do not know precisely how all this machinery was moved, for the enactments of the General Assembly of that day are very imperfect, but we do know that the common law of England was transplanted here with the early settlers themselves, and whatever was deficient in their primitive enactments was supplied by this common law. What precisely were the formalities of the courts, where they were held, or under what circumstances, are unknown to us; but that every thing about them was characterized by the greatest simplicity, and with utter want of ceremony, may be gathered from the fact that Governor Thomas Olive, who, while he held the office of Judge in west Jersey, often discharged his duties to good effect in the seat of judgment on the stumps in his meadows.

The practice of the law had not reached the dignity of a profession, even under the government of the Proprietors. Sundry acts of the General Assembly during that period, as well as during the time of Carteret, give the impression that legal learning was, at most, exclusively confined to the magistrates, the sheriffs, subsheriffs, clerks of the courts and messengers, and it would seem that the services of these gentlemen were regarded as a superfluity and even an impertinence, notwithstanding the fact that there were no other persons capable of performing the duties of attorneys and counselors. In the "Fundamental Constitutions" granted by the Twenty-four Proprietors in 1683, it is expressly declared that "In all courts, persons of all persuasions may freely appear in their own way, and according to their own manner, and there personally plead their own causes themselves, or, if unable, by their friends; no person being allowed to take money for pleading or advice in such cases." There being, however, no penalty attached to a

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violation of this provision of the Constitution, sheriffs, sub-sheriffs and other officers of the courts, continued to turn their legal knowledge to a profitable account, until the General Assembly, finally, put a stop to the exercise of their legal talents under the penalty of twenty pounds.

It is a remarkable fact that while so many laws were enacted for the purpose of keeping attorneys out of the courts, there should have been none passed to license and admit them. They were certainly needed, and probably demanded by the people, for, in 1698, the Twenty-four Proprietors instructed Governor Basse upon this subject in the following words: "That you consent to pass a law or act of the Assembly that no attorney or other person be suffered to practice or plead for fee or hire in any court of Judicature, in any suit or cause or process in law whatsoever *but such as are admitted to practice by licence* by the governor of the province for the time being."

Whatever may have been the condition upon which persons were licensed to practice by the governor, there is no evidence that, prior to 1733, any specified term of study was required as a qualification for admission to the bar. It is a matter of history, however, that in that year it was provided by an act of the Assembly that no person should be permitted to practice as an attorney at law, but such as had served an apprenticeship of at least seven years with some able attorney licensed to practice, or had pursued the study of law for at least four years after coming of full age. That such an act was passed in 1733, and was in force for more than a year, is true, but it was repealed and disallowed by the king for various reasons, one of which was that it was "full of the greatest hardships and injustice on the profession of the law." The fact is that whatever was done then, and since then, to elevate the profession of the law, was not accomplished by acts of the Legislature but by the rules of the supreme court.

In time the profession was purged of "persons of mean parts and slender attainments," but the lawyers, not only of New Jersey but of all the American colonies, were hated and subjected to the greatest wrongs until the days of the Revolution. It is difficult to account for all this. In the early days of the courts any body could play the lawyer, as has been above said, and, doubtless, the role was assumed chiefly by unprincipled men, who hesitated not to stir up and promote quarrels and law-suits for the gains to be derived therefrom. The enmity against the profession was so great that, even as late as 1769 riots were the result. In that year crowds assembled before the court house in Monmouth County and tried to prevent the entrance of the lawyers. They were at first repulsed, but subsequently, they entered the building by force, and driving the attorneys from the bar, put an end to the proceedings of the court. In the following year similar disturbances took place in Essex County, but the rioters here only succeeded in burning up the stable and out-houses of David Ogden, a prominent lawyer of Newark, in that county.

This bitter feeling against the legal profession just prior to the Revolu-

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ton was, doubtless, promoted by the leaders of the royalists, who sought to be revenged upon the attorneys for their patriotic resistance of the Stamp Act, and it was, in fact, mainly due to this resistance that the odious act was finally repealed by the British parliament. During the latter days of the province and upon its erection into a State, the public sentiment towards the profession had greatly changed, and lawyers were ranked among the most esteemed and valuable members of a community. Under the State Constitution adopted in 1776, the governor was *ex-officio*, Chancellor, and necessarily, that high office could be held by a lawyer only. The early history of Newark numbers among its most prominent and influential men members of the legal profession. The Boudinot's, the Frelinghuysens, the Penningtons, the Van Arsdales, the Whiteheads, the Coes, are among the old names in that profession that have come down, and are still appearing in its later history, while, in the mean time, other names equally great have therein also taken an enviable place.

JOSEPH P. BRADLEY.

JOSEPH P. BRADLEY, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, was born at Berne, Albany County, N. Y., March 14, 1813. He was the eldest of eleven children, and the sixth in descent from Francis Bradley who emigrated from England prior to 1650, resided in Branford, Conn., in 1657, and finally, in 1660, settled in Fairfield Conn., where he married Ruth, daughter of John Barlow. The father of the subject of this sketch was Philo Bradley, and his mother was Mary Gardner a native of Newport, Rhode Island. All his ancestors in this country were farmers, and Mr. Bradley himself, was reared upon a farm in his native place until the age of nineteen, having only such advantages for education as were afforded by the district school. It is true that his father was a man of considerable culture, and possessed of a small library consisting mainly of historical and scientific books, while his mother was a woman of superior intelligence, and noted for fondness of mathematics. Under these circumstances, it is not strange that young Bradley should have made progress in learning for which he was not indebted to the district school. In fact, at the age of sixteen he was deemed well qualified to teach all the ordinary English branches, and for three years, while occupied during the day in laboring upon his father's farm, he spent his evenings in teaching school. It was now that he began to sigh for greater and more favorable opportunities for advancement, and, without any definite plan for the future, was seeking some way by which he might better a condition that seemed to be ill suited to his

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wants. A clerkship in a grocery in New York was offered to him. Like the drowning man he sprang for the straw which was to save and land him upon a path which would lead him somewhere, and possibly, to the very spot that would satisfy all his yearnings. Fortunately, the straw was snatched from his grasp. The only steam boat that could carry him, that winter, to New York through the rapidly freezing Hudson, could not reach the dock in Catskill where he stood, bundle in hand, ready to jump on board. At the little inn to which he now found his way, he was met by the village parson to whom he told his tale of woe. The conversation of the youth soon convinced the good parson that the Hudson had put on its first coat of ice at a lucky moment. "You can never make a grocers clerk," said he. What you need is enough Latin and Greek to send you to college, and I'm the man to give it to you; come with me." And the future justice of the Supreme Court, went home with the good parson, who taught him Latin and Greek, and advised him to become a minister of the gospel, and would not be satisfied until the doors of Rutgers College had been opened to receive him as a student. To enter the Freshmen's class was mere child's play for young Bradley. At the end of his first year, he skipped over the Sophomore class into the Junior, and thus completed in three years his College course. This was the result of that quickness and thoroughness with which he always mastered every thing. Indeed, so far had he advanced in study beyond his class that, on being offered the position of classical teacher in the Academy at Millstone at the commencement of the last term of his College course, he was granted a diploma without requiring of him the study of that term. It becoming evident to him, as well as to his friends, that the law, rather than the ministry, was his proper field, he was dissuaded from his original purpose, and entered, as a student, the office of Archer Gifford Esq., a prominent lawyer in Newark, N J., as well as Collector of the Port of that city. At the end of three years he was admitted to the bar.

In May, 1840, Mr. Bradley began the practice of his profession in partnership with John P. Jackson Esq., who was then Secretary and Attorney of the New Jersey Railroad Company. In this connection he continued nearly five years, marrying, in 1844, Mary, youngest daughter of Chief Justice Hornblower. At this time, as may be conjectured, he had acquired a paying practice and was rising rapidly in his profession. His services began to be sought on every hand, especially in cases requiring careful study and preparation. No lawyer's docket ever displayed a greater round of practice, including almost every branch of the law, involving land titles, riparian rights, patents for inventions, corporate powers, railroad liabilities, and equity and criminal jurisprudence. His brethren of the bar were but too glad to have him as an associate in difficult cases where a profound knowledge of the law and skill in its application were required. In 1849 he became connected professionally with the Delaware and Raritan Canal and Camden and Amboy Railroad Com-

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panies, then, and for many years, the leading corporations of the State.

While, in politics, Mr. Bradley was a Whig, and, after the dissolution of that party, a Republican, he took very little part in public affairs until the Southern States began to secede from the Union. From that time he was pronounced in his views, firmly believing in the treason of secession and in the right, as well as the duty, of the federal government to preserve its own authority, and the integrity of the United States as an undivided country. In opposition to his wishes, and without the least expectation of success, he was induced to run for Congress in 1862, at a time when the district in which he lived was strongly Democratic, and the Republican cause depressed by a series of military disasters. He was, of course, defeated. This was the only occasion on which he was a candidate for political preferment, except in 1868, when his name was placed upon the Republican Electoral ticket.

In February 1870, President Grant nominated Mr. Bradley for the office of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and in this exalted station he remained until the day of his death, January 22, 1892. On entering upon his judicial duties, he expressed a determination to do exact justice to all, without discrimination of persons or parties, and it is believed that during this long period of twenty-two years his conduct as a Judge gave universal satisfaction. In the decisions of that high tribunal he always took a prominent part, and many of its most important opinions were written by him.

The limits of this sketch will not admit of even a list of the many important questions which Justice Bradley, in his official capacity, was called upon to decide. For none of his decisions did he receive adverse criticism, as has been already intimated, except, perhaps, from those with whose interest or political prejudices they collided. In opposition to his wishes, he was appointed a member of the Electoral Commission which determined the presidential election in February, 1877. Under the law creating this Commission it consisted of fifteen persons, seven Democrats and seven Republicans. Of these fourteen, four were Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, two from each political party with power to make the whole number of commissioners fifteen, by the choice of another Associate Justice. The choice was Justice Bradley, a Republican, and the Commission was thus made nominally Republican. It was for him a trying position, for he was regarded as an umpire, and his decision essential to the winning side, and certain to be displeasing to the side which lost. The main question to be decided was whether Congress has constitutional power to re-canvass the state election of the presidential electors. Justice Bradley held that it has not such power, and that the possession of such power would be dangerous to the liberties of the country. This settled the matter. Mr. Hayes became president of the United States. Justice Bradley met with the most undeserved opprobrium from the losing side, although it is known that his views were approved by some eminent jurists of the Democratic party.

Profound as was Justice Bradley's

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knowledge of the law, vast as was the amount of labor which he performed as a practitioner at the bar, and as a judge upon the bench, it is difficult to comprehend how he could have found the time and the proper condition of mind to obtain the thorough acquaintance which he possessed with the literature of every land, with history, ancient and modern, with every department of science, with the languages of Europe as well as of the Orient; a connoisseur in works of art, a proficient in mechanics, a prodigy in mathematics, a Biblicist, a theologian and a poet. Aside from his judicial opinions and lectures upon law before Rutgers College and other institutions, his writings consist chiefly of contributions to newspapers, magazines and encyclopaedias, addresses before literary and scientific societies, memoirs sufficient in number to form several volumes. He could not be called a popular orator. He was too truthful and honest to affect anything that he did not feel, or to resort to any artifice whereby to gain applause. All his utterances in the forum were clear, consecutive and dignified. He was always earnest, and when the occasion demanded, he was vehement and sometimes impassioned. Whenever he spoke his hearers seldom failed to comment upon the clearness and thoroughness with which he presented the matter in hand.

Justice Bradley remained upon the bench in the performance of his judicial duties until the close of his life. A statute of the United States provided that Justices of the Supreme Court who had reached the age of seventy years, and had been ten years upon the bench, might retire, enjoying for life their salary. Under this statute Justice Bradley, after a service of thirteen years, might, in 1883, have entered upon a life of ease, free from every care. This was not, however, in accordance with his tastes or habits. Duties which involved labor were essential to happiness, and the idea of being a pensioner was hateful to him. He therefore continued actively employed upon the bench until he had completed his three score years and nineteen, and then died—a man who, for attainments and achievements, with varied mental endowments of the highest order, was one of the most remarkable of the eminent men of his own, or any other country.

THEODORE RUNYON.

THEODORE RUNYON the fifth Chancellor of New Jersey, under the Constitution of 1844, was born in Somerville, N. J. October 25th, 1822. He was of French extraction, being a descendant of Vincent Rognion, a Huguenot who, at an early period in the history of New Jersey, settled with many French refugees in Middlesex County. From his birth he has been almost continuously a resident of his native State. A few years of his early boyhood were passed in the city of New York where his initial steps were taken in the way of learning. These steps however, were

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THEODORE RUNYON.

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scarcely worth counting when he found himself once more upon his native soil in the hands of tutors, zealously preparing him for the work of life. In Plainfield, then a part of the county in which he has ever since resided, his higher studies were begun, and continued until he finally entered Yale College whence he was graduated in 1842. To Newark in the same county he now repaired to fit himself for the profession which he had so wisely chosen. In 1846 he was admitted to the bar, and entered at once upon the work to which he intended to devote his life. The earnestness with which he labored won for him in 1853 the office of City Attorney; and three years afterwards, that of City Counsel. In 1856 he was appointed by Governor Price one of the Commissioners to revise and codify the Militia laws of the state; and in the following year was appointed brigadier-general of the Newark Brigade, thence rising subsequently to the position of Major-General of the National Guards.

In 1860 he was chosen one of the Presidential Electors of the State, and in the Electoral College cast his vote for Stephen A. Douglass one of the four candidates for the office of President.

When, in 1861, New Jersey was called upon to furnish her quota of the 75,000 men first summoned to the field to maintain the integrity of the Union, General Runyon promptly offered his services. They were accepted, and on the 27th of April he was placed in command of the first full brigade that was sent from New Jersey to the seat of war. With such promptness and energy did he prosecute the work assigned to him, that within ten days he arrived, with his troops, at Washington, where great alarm had been produced by a threatened invasion of the enemy. His presence in the National Capitol restored quiet, while the fullest confidence was reposed in him as its guardian and protector. So valuable, indeed were the services which he rendered, that President Lincoln thanked him in the presence of the Cabinet. The State Legislature also acknowledged his gallantry as a military leader, and it was on this occasion that the Governor, at the request of the Legislature, conferred upon him the brevet rank of Major-General of the militia of the state in recognition of his meritorious service in the field.

The term for which his brigade had enlisted having expired, General Runyon returned home and resumed the practice of his profession. Proud of his achievements, and anxious to do him honor, his fellow citizens, at the charter election held in the autumn following his return, chose him Mayor of Newark, and this office he held during the year 1864 and 1865. In the Summer of the latter year he received the nomination for Governor from the Democratic party, which, unfortunately, was at that time comparatively small in New Jersey. In April 1873, he was appointed a member of the Commission to prepare amendments to the Constitution of the State, and soon thereafter his nomination by Governor Parker for the office of Chancellor was confirmed by the Senate. The business of the court over which he was thus called upon to preside had never

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been very extensive: in fact, the Court itself had never been popular in New Jersey. So great, indeed, was the indifference of the State Senate to it, that at the expiration of Chancellor Williamson's term of office in 1859, this body refused to confirm the nominations for the office of Chancellor made by Governor Olden, and the office remained vacant for more than a year. On the re-opening of the Court in 1861, its business became at once very pressing. Chancellor Green, who then filled the office, conducted its affairs without assistance for about five years, when his failing health compelled him to resign. He was succeeded by Chancellor Zabriskie, who in 1871, found it necessary to ask for the appointment of a Vice-Chancellor, which he obtained in the person of Amzi Dodd Esq., an eminent Lawyer of Newark N. J. Within two years after Chancellor Runyon entered upon the duties of his office, the business of the Court had become so onerous, as to compel the appointment of an additional Vice-Chancellor, Abraham V. Van Fleet Esq, a lawyer of high standing in his native county of Hunterdon N. J. When Vice-Chancellor Dodd resigned in 1881, the business of the Court would not allow his position to remain vacant, and he was succeeded by John T. Bird, Esq., also a native of Hunterdon Co. N. J. and a lawyer of great ability.

For fourteen years Chancellor Runyon held his exalted office, and during all that time devoted himself to its duties with unwearied assiduity. An evidence of growing popularity of the Court under his administration, as well as of his great industry, is furnished by the fact that of the forty-two volumes of Equity reports of New Jersey published since its organization as a State, nineteen were issued during his incumbency. During the same time were published fourteen volumes of the Law reports of New Jersey containing all the opinions of the Supreme Court of the State, consisting of nine judges. Of these opinions, eight were delivered by Chancellor Runyon, as presiding Judge of the Court of Errors and Appeals.

On retiring from the Chancellorship he resumed the practice of his profession, and was actively engaged therein when in March, 1893 he was appointed by President Cleveland, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the German Empire. For this new field of labor he departed on the 6th of May following.

Chancellor Runyon is a man of great natural ability, learned not only in the law, but well versed in polite literature, the master of several of the modern languages, an accomplished orator and a brilliant writer. His scholarly attainments won for him the degree of LL. D. from Wesleyan University in 1867; from Rutgers College in 1875 and from Yale University in 1882. In 1864 he married Miss Clementine Bruen, daughter of William D. Bruen, Esq., of Newark, N. J., formerly of New York City. Their children are Mary Clementine, wife of Harry C. Haskins, banker of New York, Frederick T., Julia B., Leonard C. and Helen L. Runyon.

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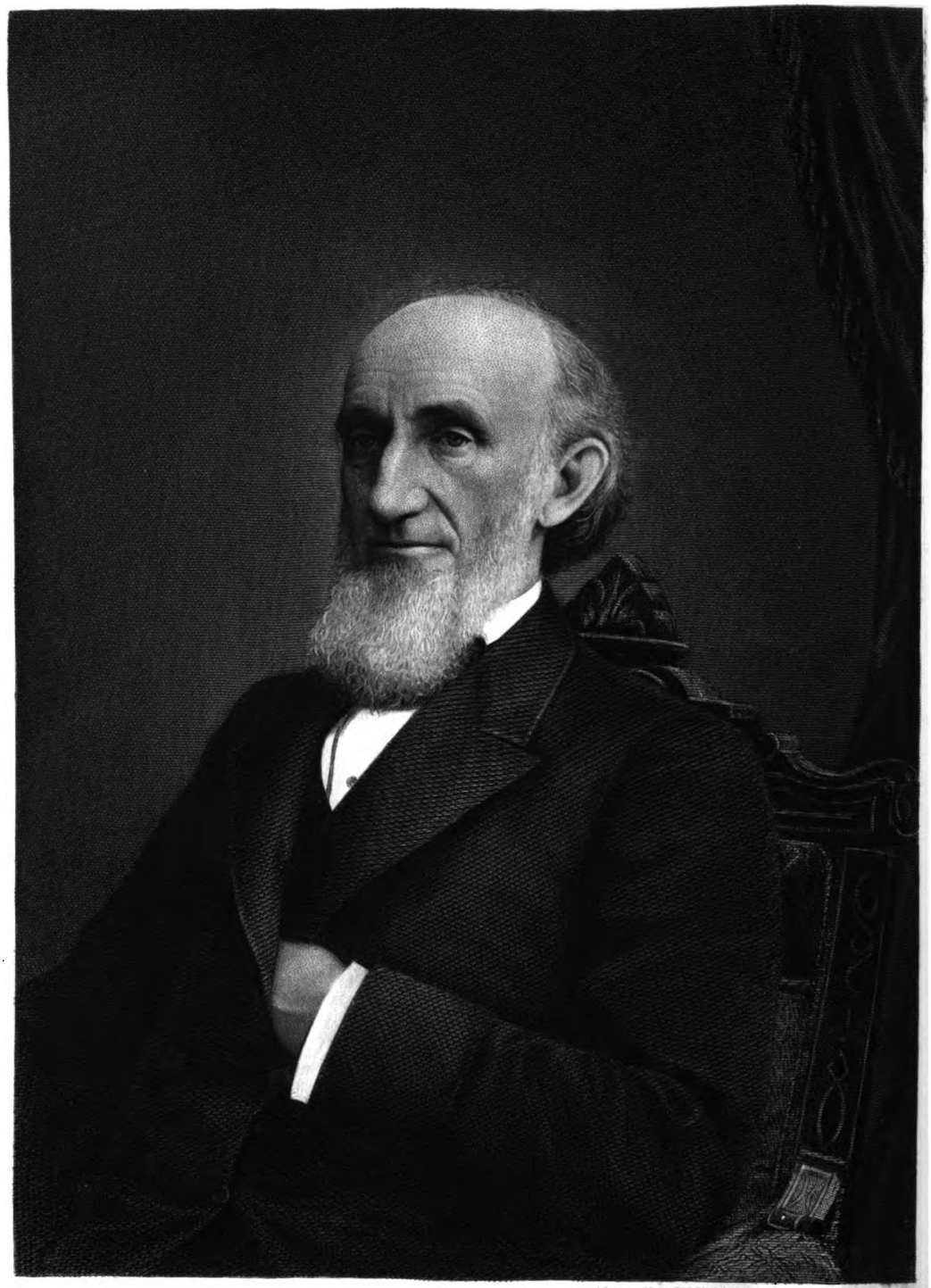

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Amos Dodd

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AMZI DODD.

AMONG the followers of the Rev. Abraham Pierson, the founder of the town of Newark, N. J., in 1666, was Daniel Dod, a young man who had not yet attained his majority. The father of this youth, also named Daniel Dod, was an English Puritan, who emigrated to America about the year 1646. The younger Daniel, who was, as has been said, among Newark's earliest settlers, achieved distinction as a mathematician. He was a surveyor by profession, and held in such repute for his intelligence and honesty that in 1692 he was made a member of the Colonial General Assembly. His lineal descendant, was Joseph Smith Dodd, who was graduated from the college of New Jersey in 1813, studied medicine, began the practice of his profession in his native place, Bloomfield, N. J., and died September 5, 1847.

Amzi Dodd, son of Dr. Joseph Smith Dodd, above mentioned, was born in Bloomfield, N. J. March 2, 1823. After a preparatory course of study in the Bloomfield Academy, he was admitted to the Sophomore class of the College of New Jersey in 1839. From this institution he was graduated in 1841, winning the highest honors, and delivering the Latin Salutatory at the commencement in that year. Soon afterwards, he went to Virginia where he engaged in school teaching until 1845, when he returned to his native state, and began the study of law in the city of Newark. In 1848, having been admitted to the bar, he became associated in practice with Hon. Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, afterwards Secretary of State of the United States, and continued in this connection until 1850. In the same year the office of clerk of the Common Council of the city of Newark was tendered to him, and this position he occupied until 1853, when the increase of his legal practice compelled him to resign it.

In the early days of the Republican party Mr. Dodd became prominent as an advocate of "Free Soil," and it was quite natural that his ability as an orator should recommend him as a suitable champion of that growing party. He was accordingly selected in 1856, as the Republican candidate for Congress in the district composed of Essex and Hudson Counties. It was, however, a forlorn hope that he was thus called upon to lead. The defeat which was inevitable, did not in the least diminish the ardor with which he had ever labored in the practice of his profession. Year by year, his reputation as a faithful attorney and a judicious counselor constantly increased; and when, in 1871, the business of the Court of Chancery became so pressing that Chancellor Zabriskie was obliged to ask for the appointment of a Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Dodd was selected for that position. In the delicate and important work thus assigned to him he was engaged until 1875, when he resigned; but to the same duties he was again called in 1881. At the close of this year Mr. Lewis C. Grover, president of the Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company of Newark, N. J., resigned his office, and Mr. Dodd, who had

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been the mathematician of the company since 1863, and who was well acquainted with its vast and complicated business, was strongly urged to accept the vacant position. This he was induced to do, and from the office of Vice-Chancellor now retired a second time.

But Mr. Dodd's great abilities as a lawyer, his nice discernment as an umpire, his sagacity as a financier and man of business, have been demonstrated not only in the office mentioned above, but in others of more or less importance to which he has been called at various times. In 1863 he represented the County of Essex in the State Legislature. In 1872, he was appointed one of the special justices of the Court of Errors and Appeals of the State of New Jersey, which office he held until 1882, when he resigned it. In 1875 he was appointed a member of the New Jersey Board of Riparian Commissioners, and served in this capacity till 1889. The professional demands which he has been called upon to meet, have been rather upon his judgment as a man of great legal attainments and profound knowledge of business as conducted in all the pursuits of life, than upon his abilities as an advocate. The writer recalls, as will, perhaps, some of the older citizens of Newark, his maiden speech made many years ago in the First Presbyterian Church at a celebration of our national anniversary. His panegyric upon Washington, hackneyed as was the theme, fell from his tongue deep into every heart, and for weeks and months the young orator's name was upon every lip. That he might, as an orator, have achieved distinction equal to that of his most illustrious contemporaries cannot be doubted, had he chosen the career of an advocate rather than that of a counselor. Immersed, as he has always been, in the business of his profession, Mr. Dodd has found but little leisure to loiter in the field of letters. He has, however, occasionally greeted his old class-mates at Princeton in an anniversary oration, and in early life he always responded cheerfully to the calls made upon him as a lecturer before lyceums and institutions of learning.

Long, active and useful has been the career of Mr. Dodd, but quietly and unostentatiously has it been run. Though no man is more favorably known or more popular in his native State, it is, beyond question, a fact that he never resorted to any artifice, however harmless, to win reputation or popularity. As he began the work of life—an upright man, with no false pretences—so he has ever continued to conduct it. With a consciousness of his superior acquirements, and natural gifts, he could afford to despise position for mere position's sake. These acquirements and these gifts he has been content to exercise, and to be satisfied with their product; and their product, as we have seen, has been sufficient to satisfy him who labors for a crown, brighter and more enduring than any that earth can give.

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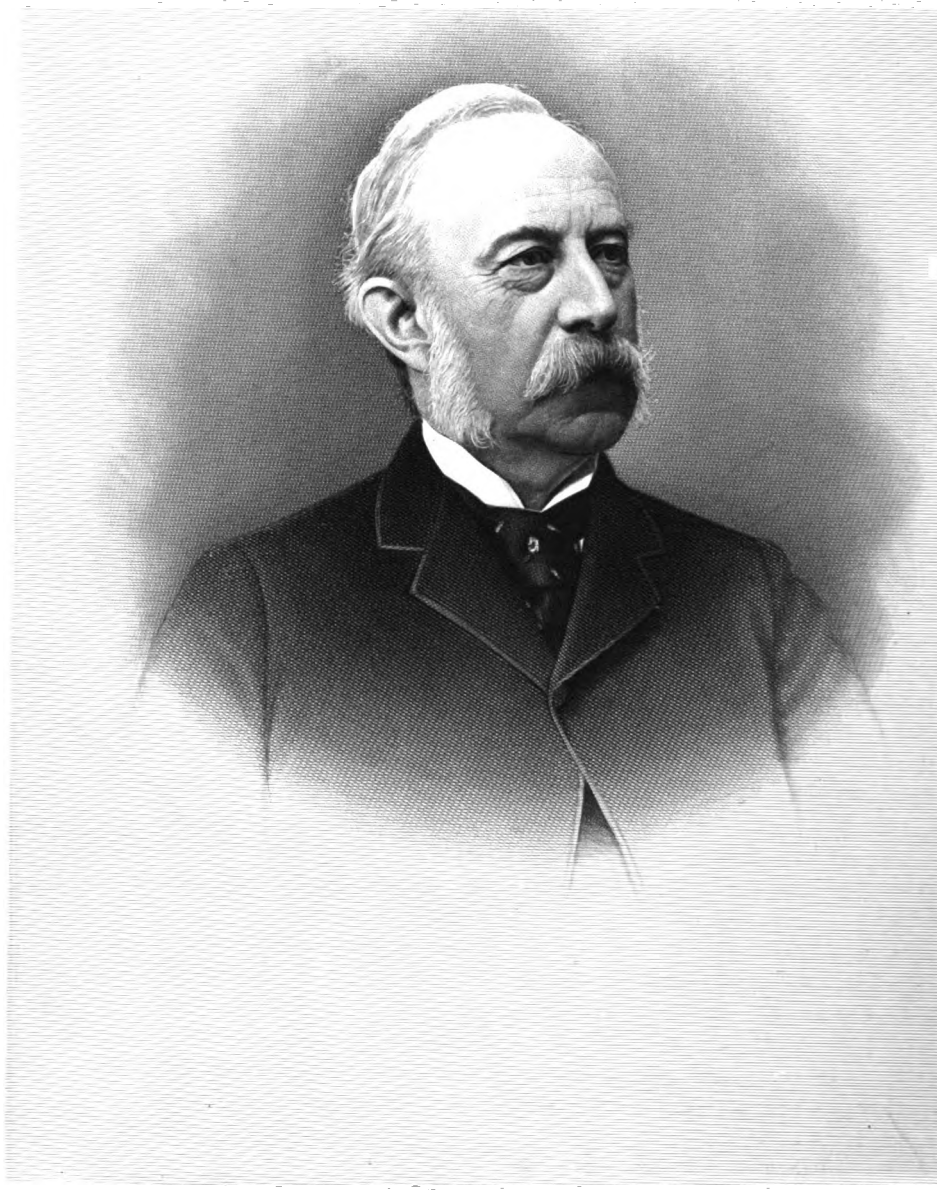

A. L. Keasby

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ANTHONY Q. KEASBEY.

THE American ancestors of Anthony Q. Keasbey, were among the early settlers of Salem County, N. J., and were likewise among the influential and distinguished men of South Jersey. His great-grandfather, Edward Keasbey, was both before and after the Revolutionary war, an active and prominent participator in public affairs. From 1765 to 1769, he represented in the General Assembly of New Jersey the Counties of Salem and Cumberland. In 1775 he was chosen a deputy for Salem to the Provincial Congress which assembled in Trenton; and attended also, the session of that Congress held in New Brunswick, at which a State Constitution was adopted. He was, moreover, elected to the Council of Safety, taking his seat as a member of that body in May, 1778. His son, Anthony Keasbey, was clerk of Salem County for many years, and from 1798 to 1801 represented that County in the General Assembly of the State. The next in descent was Edward Q. Keasbey, the father of the subject of this sketch, who was born in 1793. He was a physician, eminent in his profession, and possessed of such varied knowledge that he was an authority in every matter which involved learning and experience. Versed in the law as well as in medicine, he was deemed worthy of a seat upon the bench, and was, accordingly, appointed in 1840 a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of the County of Salem. In politics he was an ardent whig, and, as one of the Presidential Electors of 1844, gave his vote for Henry Clay.

It is also worthy of mention here that the great-grandfather of the subject of this sketch upon his mother's side, was Lieutenant Colonel Caleb Parry, who died gloriously in the Battle of Long Island, August 27, 1776, He fell while cheering on his men under a sudden volley from the enemy. In a notice of him given in "Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society," the writer says; "When some future monument rises from Greenwood to commemorate the struggle of this day, it can bear no more fitting line among its inscriptions than this tribute of Broadhead's, 'Parry died like a hero.'"

The subject of this sketch, Anthony Q. Keasbey, was the son of Dr. Edward Q. Keasbey, and was born in Salem N. J., March 1, 1824. The example of estimable and cultured parents together with the training received from them in boyhood, could scarcely fail to preserve the intellectual refinement that had characterized the generations preceding him. All possible advantages for education were given to him in early youth, and at a suitable age he entered Yale College, from which institution he was graduated in 1843. Soon afterwards he entered upon the study of law in the office of Francis L. McCulloch, Esq., in his native town. Subsequently he went to Newark, N. J. and having accomplished, under the direction of Cortlandt Parker, Esq., the time required to be spent in

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study, he was in October, 1846, admitted to the bar. Returning at once to Salem he entered upon the practice of his profession, and continued therein until 1852, when he removed to Newark and became associated in business with Mr. Parker, his former preceptor.

In March, 1861, Mr. Keasbey received from President Lincoln the appointment of United States attorney for the district of New Jersey. In April 1865, he was re-appointed to the same office, but it was discovered soon after the death of Mr. Lincoln that the commission had not been signed by him, and thus it happened that President Johnson continued the term of Mr. Keasbey until the following session of Congress, when he was regularly commissioned for a second term of four years. In 1870 he was re-appointed by President Grant, and again in 1874. In 1879 the office was once more accorded to him by President Hayes, and again by President Arthur. Thus, it appears, he held this honorable and responsible office continually from 1861 to 1886, a period of twenty-five years.

In 1876, the partnership which had so long existed between Mr. Keasbey and Mr. Parker was dissolved, and Mr. Keasbey associated with himself his two sons, Edward Q. and George under the firm-name of A. Q. Keasbey & Sons.

It rarely happens that a man can appeal, in his own behalf, to his service for a quarter of a century continuously in one and the same position. Yet Mr. Keasbey retired from the office of District Attorney of the United States, with the approbation of five Presidents as well as with the applause and high consideration of the entire bar of his native State. It was only his near approach to three score years and ten which, on the death of Judge Nixon, interfered with his exaltation to the bench thus made vacant in the Court wherein he had so long been the people's advocate. For this position he was regarded by his brethren in the profession as eminently qualified, and it was to their regret that the law, which is said to be based upon common sense, should, without exception, measure a man's mental and bodily vigor by the number of his years alone.

At an early age Mr. Keasbey won a reputation as an eloquent speaker which he ever afterwards maintained. His speeches before the Courts of his native county are still held in remembrance, and his speeches, even now, possess all the earnestness and vigor of his younger days. It matters not what may be the occasion which calls him forth, he is, when before an audience, always at home, and whether to minister to its appetite for mirth, or to appease its tumult, or to put an end to its apathy, he is equally effective. A jury listens to every word he utters. A political meeting receives him as a favorite orator. A literary or scientific body desires him to "proceed," when he expresses a fear that his address is becoming too lengthy. Such is always the interest which he creates in his narrative, such the approval which he wins in his reasoning, such the sympathy which he causes by his pathos, such the emotion which he arouses by his philippics that his audience must follow him attentively to the very end.

Mr. Keasbey's professional labors

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Louis C. Grover.

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have always been too onerous to permit him to take a very active part in the world of letters, yet he possesses a familiarity with it, to which few, comparatively, of his brother lawyers, with far greater leisure, can make pretensions. In the form of contributions to the periodical literature of the day, as well as in the papers read before learned societies, he has shown the man of erudition as well as the able rhetorician. Withal, it is not too much to say that in song he has uttered sentiments worthy of poets the most fascinating, and of writers the most polished.

LEWIS C. GROVER.

THE grandfather of the subject of this sketch was the late Rev. Stephen Grover of Caldwell, N. J. who, after bravely serving his country during the war of the Revolution, entered the Christian ministry, and for forty-eight years was the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of that place. So faithful had been his prolonged service, and so great was the esteem in which he was held, not only by the congregation, but by all who knew him, that his death occasioned universal mourning. The whole region flocked to his funeral, and in the ground as near as possible to his pulpit, his body found its final resting-place. His successor in the ministry in Caldwell was the Rev. Richard F. Cleveland who, soon after his advent to the vacant pulpit, in honor of his predecessor, gave to a new-born son the name of Grover, and this son is Grover Cleveland, President of the United States. Mr. Grover left a son, Stephen R. Grover, who became a lawyer of considerable distinction in Newark, N. J. and represented Essex County in the State Senate. In 1812 he was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Joseph Byram, of Mendham, N. J. She was a descendant of John Alden and Priscilla Mullen, the former, as Longfellow describes him: "youngest of all was he of the men who came in the May Flower," and the latter was "the loveliest maiden of Plymouth," the first sight of whom caused Captain Miles Standish to exclaim: "It is not good for man to be alone."

Lewis C. Grover, son of Stephen R. Grover, was born in Caldwell, N. J. October 20, 1815. It being his father's intention to educate him for one of the learned professions, he received a thorough preparation for college, which in these days means a college education with the exception of gymnastics. His disposition was, however, rather towards a business life, and to gratify him in this, his father obtained for him a clerkship in the State Bank at Newark, and afterwards in an extensive manufacturing establishment in the same city. These were schools which proved to be of great advantage to him in his subsequent life,

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though he became neither banker nor manufacturer. Of reading and study he was very fond, and the temptations offered by his father's library were so frequently yielded to, and, at last, became so irresistible that he resolved to enter one of the learned professions, and of these, finally, settled upon the law. Under the guidance, and in the office of his father, he pursued industriously his studies, and in 1839 was admitted to the bar in company with Edward W. Whelpley, Cortlandt Parker, Joseph P. Bradley, Frederick T. Frelinghuysen and others who afterwards became eminent in the profession. He opened an office at once in the city of Newark, and soon found himself surrounded by friends and clients. Every day brought him additional business, and every day furnished evidence that he made no mistake in his choice of a career. For several years he attended strictly to the labors of his profession, whether as an advocate or a counselor. Such was his success in both these capacities that, a popular leader being needed in the Presidential campaign of 1848, he was selected for the position, and, as an unsought result of his labors, was chosen by a large majority as a representative of Essex County in the General Assembly, in which body, as everywhere, he took a leading part, holding the chairmanship of the Judiciary Committee.

In 1845, Mr. Grover obtained from the Legislature a charter of the Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company of Newark, N. J., an institution which now stands among the foremost of its kind. He was one of its incorporators, and, very naturally, was selected as its counsel, an office which did not draw very largely upon his time in the days when that now magnificent institution transacted all its business at a single desk, with a single pen, in a small room on the corner of Broad and Market street. In the course of a few years, however, its affairs had become sufficiently important to demand the constant attention of its counsel. Under these circumstances, Mr. Grover, at the earnest solicitation of the Board of Directors, decided to withdraw from general practice of his profession, and to give all his time and attention to the business of the institution. In 1860 he was elected to the office of Vice-president of the Company, and in 1862, on the death of the president, Mr. Robert L. Patterson, he was called to fill that honorable and important position. In this capacity he continued to serve the institution until November 10, 1881, when, enfeebled by age and ill-health, he believed it to be his duty to resign. His resignation was accepted, but the Company, unwilling to part altogether with his valuable aid appointed him Executive Counsel, in which capacity he still preserves his connection with an institution, which, as long as it endures, will be a monument to his energy and sagacity.

As a lawyer, Mr. Grover distinguished himself more as a wise and judicious counselor than as an advocate. To his advice and great executive abilities the Newark Mutual Benefit Insurance Company, is mainly indebted for its wonderful growth. For it he abandoned the forum, and sacrificed every opportunity to achieve that eminence as an advocate of which his early efforts at the bar and upon the rostrum gave brilliant promise.

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F. H. Zeese

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FREDERICK H. TEESE.

FREDERICK H. TEESE, son of Conrad Teese, a prominent Newark manufacturer in the early part of the present century, was born in that city October 21, 1823. In boyhood he received all the advantages for education which the best schools of that day afforded. His studies preparatory for college were pursued in the classical Academy of Rev. Dr. William R. Weeks in his native town. These being completed he entered the College of New Jersey, at Princeton, in 1840, and was graduated from that institution in 1843. Soon after that event he became a student at law in the office of the late Hon. Asa Whitehead, an eminent jurist of Newark, N. J. In 1846 he was admitted to the bar as an attorney, and in 1849 as a counselor at law. Establishing himself as a practitioner in his native town, he rose rapidly in his profession, not only as an advocate, but as a lawyer whose sound judgment and fidelity could never be doubted. The Democratic party, of which he was by birth and early education an adherent, fixed upon him as a leader as soon as he began to gain prominence at the bar, but he firmly refused all political preferment that interfered with his practice at the bar and with his determination to take high rank in a profession for which, as was admitted on every hand, he was eminently fitted. In time, however, the pressure upon him was too strong to be resisted, and thus it happened that in 1859, he was triumphantly elected a member of the General Assembly of New Jersey. In the following year he was re-elected to the same position, and at the beginning of this second term was chosen Speaker of the House, the duties of which office he discharged with such marked ability and impartiality as to win the commendation of both political parties. The impression made by him during these digressions from professional labors led, doubtless, to his advancement, in 1864, to the honorable position of presiding Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of the County of Essex, N. J. At the expiration of his first term of five years, he was re-appointed for another term of five years. In 1872, however, in order to hold the position of Counsel for The Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company of Newark N. J. to which office he had been appointed, it became necessary for him to resign his seat upon the bench, and this, after due consideration, he was induced to do. But his first two years in this quiet though active service had scarcely elapsed, when his political party appealed to him to assume its leadership in the great struggle to be made in 1874 for supremacy in the National House of Representatives. The offer of a nomination for Congress was made to him, but he was at this time utterly undisposed to re-enter the political arena, and in resisting this temptation, offered every possible excuse. But his excuses and expostulations were of no avail, and he finally accepted the nomination, fully believing that, after the election, he would be able to return quietly to

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his labors as it could not be possible, in his opinion, for him or any other person to defeat the estimable and popular candidate offered by the Republican party. In this he was, however, deceived, for his election was, under the circumstances, achieved by a very handsome majority. Very reluctantly he assumed, and very faithfully he performed, the duties of his new position, but at the expiration of his term, he could not be persuaded to accept the offer of a renomination, although the prospect of a successful canvass was far more cheering than on the first occasion.

Throughout his term of service as a member of Congress, Judge Teese retained his connection with the Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company as its Counsel, and, on the resignation of Hon. Lewis C. Grover as a director in that institution, he was elected to the vacancy thus made in that Board, of which he is still the Counsel. On the establishment of the Free Public Library of the City of Newark, in 1888, Judge Teese was appointed one of its trustees, and, as such, continues to serve that flourishing institution.

While not an active politician, Judge Teese is regarded as a staunch Democrat—a man whose sterling honesty and excellent judgment must make him invaluable to any party, and in whom all parties could unhesitatingly place implicit confidence. It is simply due to his great aversion to public office that he has not filled the highest positions in the State. For his legal learning he holds a distinguished rank among his professional brethren; for his many amiable qualities, he is a favorite among his associates, and for his unfeigned patriotism he holds the respect and admiration of his fellow citizens.

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FERNCLIFF-ON-THE-HUDSON.

THE civilized man comes to his estate by a sedulous pursuit of utilities, often at complete sacrifice of natural beauties. No sooner is this accomplished than he begins to long for the very graces which he has so laboriously and completely destroyed. First of all he must "do business;" but business is flat footed, plodding, unromantic, parsimonious of space and time. Therefore, the grand sheltering forests must be cut away, the verdant hills are dug down, the charming dells and ravines are filled, the gurgling fountains and watercourses are stopped, the sheltering, undulating shores are squared and shaped to plummet and line, not only the meadows but the very ponds and lakes are obliterated, and converted into foundations for rectangular piles of brick and mortar defined by stiff rectangular roadways,—till at last Manhattan Island, one of the loveliest spots God ever made, is shorn of nearly every natural grace, and instead we have a gigantic dead, dry, level of utility—the Metropolis of a continent. Say it was just and necessary; yet it is sad to think upon, if we for a moment reconstruct in the imagination what the savage and the explorer here knew, but no human eye can ever again behold; for in the coming ages, should this city and nation like many another cease to live except in history,

> While nature o'er our ruin rears
> Her forests of a thousand years,

yet upon a re-discovery no such diversified beauty could appear as that which greeted the bold Hudson and the early colonists. While the beauties in great part have perished, the desolating utilities which prevailed have brought wealth, leisure, culture and unrest. The tastes and refinements which come from commercial success create an ardent desire for the very things which the commercial necessities have supplanted. It is a circle where the very departure from nature brings us back to nature. The tired city which man makes, always longs for the fresh country which God made.

The Astors have houses by the hundred in the city "with all modern improvements." Some of them are palatial; but all together are not satisfying. A home is more than a house. It is a haunt where we may continually come close to the bosom of mother-nature for repose. Those, who have had the good fortune to be born and brought up in the country, know that every tree and hillock, every spring and rill and rock and glen, is quite as much a part of home as the especial roof which may have sheltered us. To all those surroundings the mind reverts and the affection clings. Every foot of soil becomes endeared to us in the valley or mountain of our birth. No magnificence within walls can be made to take the place of nature's colors and spaces. Hence those who make and own the city are often most anxious to forsake it and flee away

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from it. The colossal fortunes of the Astors are in the city; their fine and valuable properties here are almost without number; but their real homes are elsewhere.

The home of the fourth and the most ingenious John Jacob Astor, the spot of earth upon which his interest and affection especially centers, where his ingenuity is most displayed, and where his exhaustless resources are most lavishly bestowed in order most completely to preserve and perfect the beauties of nature in conjunction with the utmost attainments of art for beauty and convenience—in short where he would make the ideal home of his heart—is Ferncliff-on-the Hudson. This property, one of the finest in the country, has been gradually acquired and improved.

It now comprises a lovely tract of twelve hundred acres, with a river front on the Hudson of one and one third miles, and extending back to the village of Rhinebeck. The seat was first secured by the grandfather of the present owner, and much enlarged and improved by his father, the late William Astor, who, shortly after his marriage, added the Rokeby mansion with two hundred and fifty acres. The present John Jacob Astor has made further additions which complete the ample dimensions of the estate. William Astor managed the place as both park and farm, maintaining here famous breeding stables, which produced some well known thoroughbreds.

Mr. William Astor, however, was much engaged in other and distant regions, especially in Florida, in the development of which State he became much interested. Hence the seat on the Hudson received less of his attention, and to his son is largely due the credit of making Ferncliff the ideal home, the thing of beauty and the earthly paradise which it has become. Great natural advantages have been appropriately seized upon in laying out the extensive grounds, excellent taste, highest skill in engineering and landscape gardening have been applied. The result could not well be other than most charming. Forty acres are included in "White Oak Park." Roadmaking throughout these grounds has reached the highest perfection as an applied science, and the drives are models in their way. Even the slight dust from the natural wear of the smooth, hard road-beds is removed by an ingenious machine, the patented invention of Mr. Astor himself, who has produced a number of other machines and meritorious devices, thus revealing an inventive faculty and taking a new departure quite outside of the Astor traditions. This "Pneumatic Road-Improving Machine," is described in the *Scientific American*, of September 3, 1892. The work is done, not by brushes but by an air-blast whose force and direction is regulated at will by a lever next the driver's seat. It may be noted in passing that Mr. Astor has also invented an improved bicycle brake-shoe, which insures a more perfect control of the wheel. This is already sought for by manufacturers, and will doubtless soon be in use. He also has various other inventions, the most novel of which, perhaps, is his idea of of a "Rain-Inducer." This includes any means whereby a column of warmer air saturated with moisture may be projected rapidly upward and

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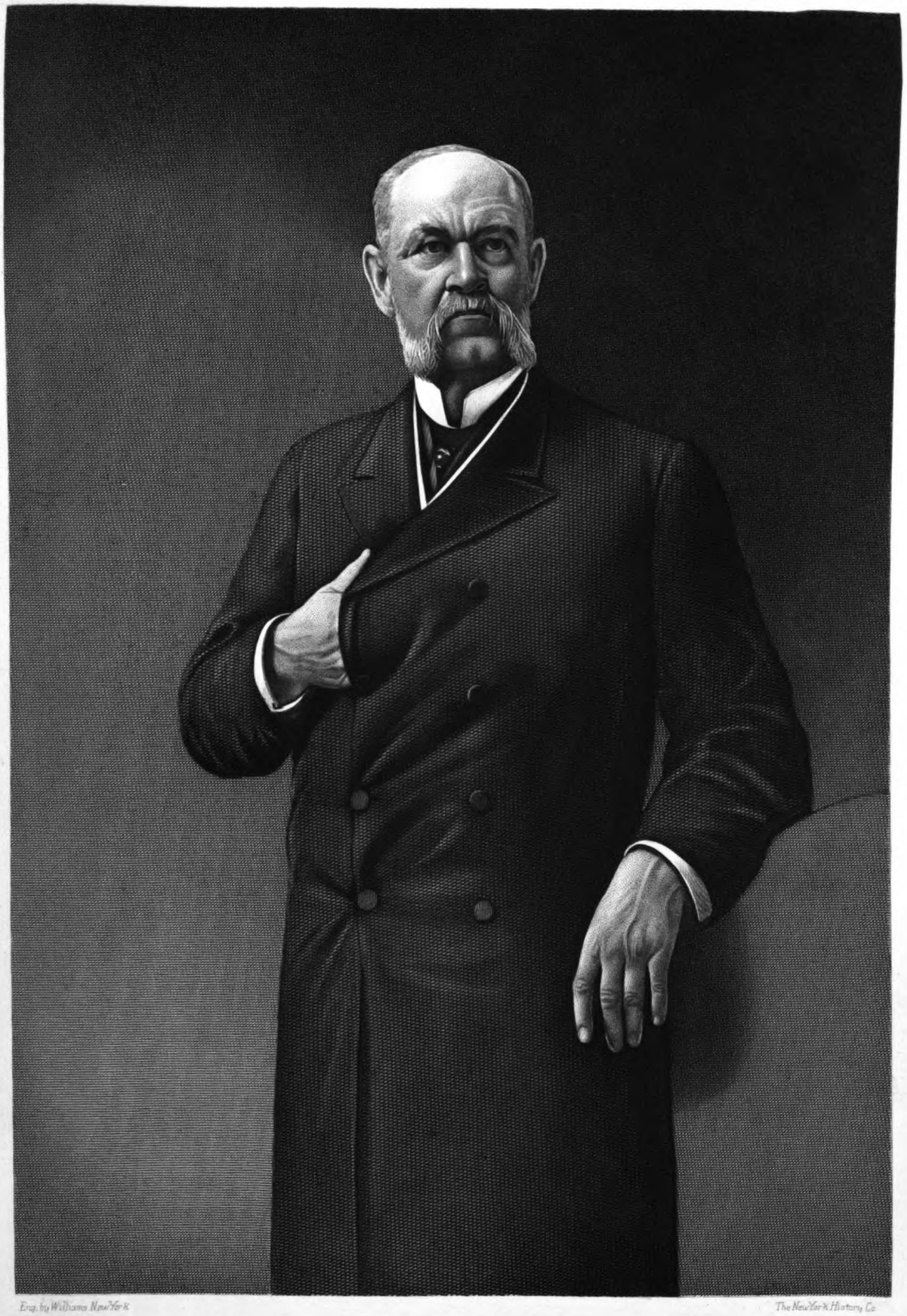

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dispersed in the upper and cooler atmosphere. Of course condensation of the moisture and consequent descent of the rain-drops is to follow.

Mr. Astor's stables are now devoted to the breeding of fine carriage and saddle horses, in which lines he has some very choice animals. The landing at the river side is adorned by an elegant boat-house, well equipped. His greenhouses are on an extensive scale, well filled with fragrance and beauty. Moreover the place includes a model dairy-house with every appliance and convenience for best results, and supplied with steam-power. The estate has a water-power effective for general purposes during a part of the year. This with steam, and a grand electrical plant, is still further supplemented by a large and picturesque wind-mill, so that in one fair spot may be said to be assembled the old and the new; indeed, nearly all the sources of mechanical power employed by ancients and moderns alike.

It is needless to say that the mansion is ample and elegant, furnished and adorned with all things pleasing to a refined taste, and adapted to provide for bodily comfort and luxurious repose. Of course such a provision includes many devices for convenience and amusement which a century or even a score of years ago were not dreamed of. Perhaps chief among these newer additions to the modern dwelling, already come to be regarded almost as necessities, are the marvellous results of our progress in the science of applied electricity. At first thought Franklin's bottled lightning, which has come into such common use in the city, is supposed to be confined to the city, where upon small areas it may be supplied with due economy to the dense populations. But no; even the city conveniences and luxuries, the last, the least or the greatest of them, wealth is able to transport to the fields and to set down among the green hills and beside the murmuring brooks. This is the triumph and superlative of delicious living—the completely endowed and equipped city home, outwardly harmonized with its surroundings, while it is set down in the midst of the healthfulness, freedom and beauty of the country space and scene. This is the ideal sought for and secured by Mr. Astor in Ferncliff-on-the-Hudson. When the new race of poets appears, the modern pastorals and bucolics will include a fine electric plant in the cellar, or the ornamental engine-house, while the cottage and grounds, the fountains and the lovers'-walks, will be illuminated by miniature suns, and the fickle moon can come or stay away as she pleases.

Such is the appliance of recent discovery and art at Ferncliff. By a fine plant with the latest and most approved machinery, electric light is dispensed to every department and part of the extensive establishment where it can be made to serve and adorn. In fact from what has been said it is easy to see that in the matter of mechanical appliances nothing has been spared, and the estate is a model unsurpassed.

Mr. Astor's tastes, wishes and ingenious plans are carried out under the especially intelligent management of Mr. James S. Armstrong, a man of travel, judgment and experience, who formerly spent some years operating

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successfully in the Argentine Republic of South America. Mr. Astor has been fortunate in securing his services which have been and are still of the greatest value to him in the labor of creating an ideal home.

TWO OF THE ASTORS.

THE late William Astor and the fourth John Jacob Astor, his son and heir, represent one of the two leading branches of the renowned Astor family; and it is their names which will be associated with the delightful country seat of Ferncliff-on-Hudson. The first John Jacob, founder of the family in America, left the bulk of his great fortune to his eldest son, William B. Astor, who survived all his brothers and sisters, and died in 1875 at the age of eighty-three years. His father had died at eighty-five. The inherited fortune, which had doubled in his hands, William B divided between his sons William, and John Jacob, the third of the name.

William Astor, born in New York City, July 12th, 1829, was graduated from Columbia College at twenty years of age, standing second in a fine class. Going abroad he spent some time in travel, ascending the Nile higher than any other tourist of the time, and continuing his explorations in the Holy Land, Turkey and Greece.

During the civil strife in the United States he was an ardent Union man and actively engaged in recruiting forces for the field. He greatly desired to lead in person the regiment which he organized at Rondout, N. Y., but was restrained by his father's persuasions and advice. He also organized the Astor Gun Squad at Rhinebeck, New York. He was deeply interested in the reconstruction measures, acting with the Republican party, but always shrinking from any public preferment or honors.

In 1873 a prolonged yachting expedition in the "Ambassadress," the largest sailing yacht ever built, during which he visited the coasts of Florida exploring rivers, bays and inlets, resulted in a thorough appreciation of the undeveloped resources of that State and a lively interest in her affairs. As aid on the Governor's staff he organized a Gun Squad which operated with success against the Indians in the Everglades. He invested largely in Jacksonville, instituted various improvements and built a substantial block, still the finest in that city. He also opened a line of railroad from St. Augustine to Palatka. In recognition of these services to the State he received a large grant of land, and would have been returned to the United States Senate had he consented to take office.

Mr. Astor's charities, which were many, were very quietly performed, and indeed he was the farthest from ostentation in everything which he did. He was a good yachtsman and sportsman, and took special delight in farming and stock-breeding. Out of this taste for farming and pleasure in fine stock came the purchase

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J. J. Astor.

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and improvement of the beautiful Ferncliff property at Rhinebeck. Mr. Astor was a traveller and spent much time abroad, yet the care of his immense estate was never neglected. The entire business is thoroughly systematized in all its details so that with the property, we may say, is also inherited the completely effective machinery for its management, and even to a great degree the personal agencies by which the management is conducted. The Astors have the faculty of attaching to their interest a thoroughly competent and trustworthy service. Those employed by them in responsible positions are well rewarded and cared for; they are treated with consideration and permanently retained, so that the present manager of the estates, Mr. Philip Kissam, may be said to have discharged his office for three generations, since he has not only served Mr. William Astor in this capacity, but also his father before him, and still continues with his son after him.

Mr. Astor was most happily married to Miss Caroline Webster Schermerhorn, a descendant from the old Dutch family of the name, established and made prominent in the American colony of New Netherland by Jacob Jacobson Schermerhorn, who came from Waterland in Holland to Beverwyck (now Albany) in 1636. They were blessed with a fine family of five children, four daughters and one son.

Mrs. Astor has enjoyed a unique place in New York society. She is universally recognized, not only in America but in London and Paris as well, as moving at the very head of the most exclusive social circle in the New World. Representing through her ancestry the gentle blood of one of the most fashionable of the old Dutch families, and forming by her marriage an alliance with another family of extraordinary wealth as well as highest position, she thus added to her pre-eminent qualifications unlimited resources for the brilliant discharge of the functions appropriate to the greatest social eminence in the Republic. So brilliantly did she adorn the position in which she was thus naturally placed, and so far did she surpass all precedents, that the succession to social leadership appears to be assured in the Astor family. In the history of our select society, which will some day be written, Mrs. William Astor will enjoy the distinction of having brought, by her own inspiration and example, reinforced by the brilliant set which gathered about her, a new refinement and magnificence into the fashionable life of the metropolis.

The only son of William Astor and Caroline Schermerhorn, John Jacob, the fourth of the name, and great-grandson of the founder of the American House of Astor, was born July 13, 1864, educated at St. Paul's School of Concord, New Hampshire, and at Harvard University. Immediately after leaving the University he spent some time in foreign travel visiting Turkey and especially familiarizing himself with the classic soil of Greece. Making his headquarters at Athens he explored on foot the famous localities of the neighborhood, which claim so large a space in classic song and history. He also visited North Cape, spending some time in that region. Returning to America he subsequently extended his travels into Mexico

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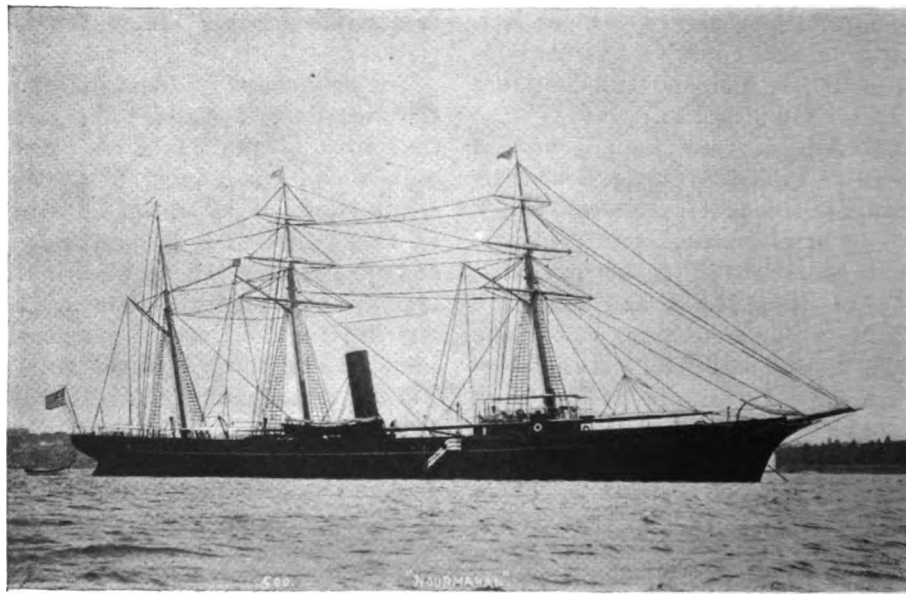
and the island of Cuba, making a study of the manners and customs of the people. He also made several trips to the Rocky Mountains along the line of the Northern Pacific previous to the completion of that road.

Like his father before him, young John Jacob Astor is a lover of manly sports and healthful out-door amusements. He is a skillful and enthusiastic yachtsman, and a favorite recreation is travel in command of his elegant steam yacht "Nourmahal." The present season he offers two handsome cups as prizes which will be contended for in yacht-races the coming Autumn.

In the matter of model farming, and the employments of stock fancier and country gentleman, he has inherited "a double portion" of his father's spirit. As may be readily seen from the sketch of Ferncliff-on-the Hudson, in attention, zeal, inventive ingenuity applied to the formation of the ideal country home and estate, the son far surpasses the father. What seems with the father to have been one pastime or somewhat prominent thought and interest among many, in the son becomes a passion that makes the perfection of this establishment a prime consideration, in the realization of which no necessary care, labor or expenditure is too great. The building and equipment of the ideal home calls out the best that is in him, and be-



NOURMAHAL.

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Thos. S. Dole

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comes an inspiration and aid, stimulating and developing a faculty of originality and invention hitherto unknown in the family. It is needless here to enlarge upon this theme. The evidences of the fact have already been sufficiently presented.

February 17, 1891, Mr. Astor was married to Miss Ava Lowle Willing, daughter of Edward S. Willing of Philadelphia. Mrs. Astor comes of an ancient and honorable family, leaders in society. She is well qualified to unite with her husband in fulfilling the somewhat exacting conditions and responsibilities of the well known high and influential position of the Astor family in New York society. In this respect both of these young people fall into the place naturally assigned them and answer all expectations in a way to make them deservedly popular. As might be expected Mr. Astor holds membership in a large number of the leading social clubs of the city; but it is also true that his name is found on the directorate of numerous banks and trust companies, and while entirely modest, unassuming and even retiring in his manner, he is zealous in what he undertakes, prompt and scrupulous in the discharge of his duties, whether in a business matter or to society. So free is he from ostentation or snobbishness of any sort that in his presence it is very difficult to realize that this plain, approachable and companionable young man holds a financial and social position second to none in America. When in the city he daily appears at his business office.

FRANK ALLABEN

PIONEERS OF THE NORTHWEST.

CHARLES S. DOLE.

A PIONEER of Chicago, Charles S. Dole was in a wide and broader sense, a pioneer of the "Northwest," because his business operations for many years extended over a large area of country, and because he was a conspicuous figure in the inception and development of one of the chief industries of this wonderfully productive region. Mr. Dole was born a pioneer and is himself a product of western civilization. The family to which he belongs is of English origin and the grandfather of Charles Dole was James Dole an English gentleman of character, education and means, who immigrated to this country some time before the war of the Revolution and who served with distinction in the Colonial Army during the struggle for independence. Subsequent to the war he resided at Troy, N. Y., where he was extensively engaged in business as a grain merchant and vessel owner and occupied a high social position. His son Sidney Dole like his father had both military tastes and business capacity. As a young man he was captain of the "Trojan Greens" of Troy, the leading military organization of the State of New York, and saw service with his company in the war of 1812.

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Sidney Dole married Elizabeth Swan—a daughter of Dr. Ziba Swan of Albany, New York who is said to have been a lady possessed in an eminent degree of the good qualitites of head and heart to which descent from an illustrious New England family entitled her. Her mother was a Palmer of the famous Stonington (Connecticut) family whose immigrant ancestor came over in the Mayflower and the representatives of which have made many shining pages of American history. Soon after his marriage to Miss Swan, Sidney Dole formed a co-partnership with two or three other gentlemen and engaged in the milling and salt business at Syracuse, New York. One of the first heavy shipments of the firm was sent to the fisheries at Detroit, Michigan, and Mr. Dole's business called him to what was then the most famous of western trading posts. He was so much pleased with the place that he settled there with his family and was joined a little later by his father-in-law, Dr. Swan, and family. The steamer "Walk in the Water" the first to ply between the ports of Lake Erie, carried the families to their destination and they settled first on a farm in Bloomfield, Oakland County, Michigan. It was on this farm that Charles S. son of Sidney Dole was born November 2, 1819.

After a time Mr. Dole removed to Pontiac the county seat of Oakland County, where he served as clerk of the County Court and in this capacity issued the first legal writ served in that county. He was a man of marked ability and was retained in official positions until his death, which occurred at a comparatively early age in 1829.

After his father's death Charles Dole spent a year or more on the farm of his grandfather, Dr. Swan, developing a taste for agriculture and rural life which have been distinguishing characteristics of his later life.

Previous to this time he had been given as good an education as could be obtained in a new and sparsely settled country with its necessarily limited educational facilities. Some of the experiences of these early school days were of a character to forcibly illustrate the fact that he was born and grew up a pioneer. The school house was two miles distant from his home and on his way to and from this old fashioned institution of learning, he not infrequently met bands of Indians, with whom he was sometimes called upon to divide the contents of his lunch basket as a peace offering. These experiences while they may not have been actually perilous were of the kind not easily forgotten and typical of a period which seems now too remote to be within the memory of living men.

Having made the best of these limited opportunities, Charles S. Dole ceased to be a school boy when he was fourteen years of age and went to live with an uncle, at White Pigeon, Michigan. Here he began his business career as a clerk and was employed in this capacity several years, part of the time as manager of branch establishments which had been evolved through the extension of trade. Then in connection with some of his associates in the establishment he bought out the business and con-

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tinued a trade which extended over four counties. Their goods being disposed of mainly to the farmers, the products of the farms had to be taken in exchange, and in this way Mr. Dole first became engaged in the grain trade in which he was so conspicuous a figure in later years. In connection with their mercantile business the firm operated a large flouring mill which was kept running with the wheat obtained from farmers in exchange for goods; and the flour product then found its way to the New York market. In this way a business which promised handsome returns was being built up, when a fire occurred which destroyed the mill and ultimately bankrupted the firm.

When he had discharged his obligations so far as lay in his power he was still in debt, and finally, with something less than a hundred dollars in his pocket and a few hundred dollars worth of maturing paper he sought a new location, to begin anew the struggle to build up a fortune. He had letters of recommendation to a firm at Pekin, Illinois, doing a large packing and provision business there, and after stopping in Chicago for a time he proceeded to that place by packet on the Illinois and Michigan Canal, arriving at his destination with his cash assets reduced to five dollars. Much to his disappointment he was compelled to forego entering into what promised to be a very advantageous business arrangement at Pekin, on account of his lack of a little ready money, and he went from there to Beardstown, Illinois, where he found employment as a book keeper. The following spring, after revisiting his old home in Michigan he returned to Illinois and for a time engaged in a small way in the purchase and shipment to Chicago of hay and wool. Then he accepted a position in the Chicago post office, of which his uncle George W. Dole, one of the noted early settlers of Chicago, was postmaster. This was in 1850, and at the end of three months he became assistant postmaster and held the position until his uncle's term of office expired. When President Pierce was elected and a new postmaster was appointed he declined a re-appointment to the position of assistant post master—on the ground that he had not voted for Pierce and was not entitled to retain the place,—and in 1852 embarked in the grain commission business in Chicago. Later he associated with him his brother James Dole and, organizing the firm of C. S. Dole & Co., began systematic operations in bringing to Chicago the rapidly increasing grain product of the vast country tributary to the city. While his operations were not confined to one of the several lines of railroad which had by this time entered the city his most extensive operations were along the line of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad. As this line was extended into the fertile region which was rapidly being brought under cultivation, Mr. Dole pushed out into the country, building up warehouses and establishing agencies through which the products of the farms found their way to the Chicago market. With the farmers of this region he built up rapidly a large and profitable commission trade, and his house soon became one of the most widely known in Chicago.

With the increased traffic in grain

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in Chicago, came the necessity for improved and more systematic methods of handling, and when the Board of Trade in 1858 attempted to classify wheat into grades, the matter was placed in the hands of Mr. H. S. Butler, and Mr. Charles S. Dole who acted as a committee to formulate the reformatory measure. These gentlemen recommended a system of inspection which was adopted by the Board of Trade, and Mr. Dole became a member of the first Board of Inspectors through whose efficient labors the prestige of Chicago as a grain centre was firmly established. In 1860 Mr. Dole being by far the largest receiver of grain over the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, obtained from the railroad company a concession of land and tract facilities for grain-houses and elevators to be built and operated ten years, and associating with himself Mr. George Armour and Mr. Wesley Munger, under the firm name of Armour, Dole & Co., his business was vastly expanded. This arrangement with the railroad company continued in effect until 1887, when the company purchased the elevator warehouses, and subsequently sold them to Mr. Dole the surviving partner of the old firm. The firm of Dole & Co. was then organized and operated the plant until 1891, when upon the expiration of the partnership it again passed into the hands of the railroad company to be sold later to the re-organized firm of Dole & Co.

From 1860 until 1891, the two firms in which Mr. Dole had been a controlling spirit, owned the warehouses and had full charge of the grain receipts of the C. B. & Q. Railway. The first elevator built in 1860 had a capacity of 850,000 bushels. In 1863 another elevator was built with a capacity of 850,000 bushels. In 1873 another with a capacity of 1,500,000, and in 1877 another with a capacity of 1,800,000 bushels. In 1883, another elevator was added to the system with a capacity of 1,000,000 and the capacity of the first elevator was increased to 1,250,000 bushels. In 1885 the capacity of the four elevators operated by Mr. Dole's company was 6,350,000 bushels, with a receiving and shipping capacity of 700,000 bushels daily; and between 1876 and 1880 the average amount of grain handled annually through these elevators was 25,714,-173 bushels.

Mr. Dole personally superintended the business at the elevators in 1862 and in 1863, but later spent a large portion of his time in the country establishing new stations for the reception of the grain product, and extending the patronage of the firm among the grain producers. He was especially active in looking after the interests of their patrons at competing points, providing proper equipment and facilities for handling grain to the best advantage, and proving himself a master of tact and diplomacy in attracting to his firm the vast business which built up great fortunes for himself and his associates.

That the trade which he brought to Chicago would have been turned into this channel in the course of time under other circumstances, is doubtless true, but that through Mr. Dole's sagacious efforts this period was hastened, production vastly stimulated and the volume of the trade increased many fold is equally true. There are giants of trade and commerce. Men

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who set in motion and keep moving the forces which build towns and cities. Of this class of men "the west" has been prolific, and Charles S. Dole was for thirty years one of the most active of this class.

It has been said elsewhere in this sketch that a love of agriculture and rural life has been one of Mr. Dole's distinguishing characteristics in later years. This has been exemplified in the building up of a beautiful country home in one of the most delightfully picturesque spots in Northern Illinois. On a branch of the Northwestern Railway forty-two miles from Chicago, is one of those beautiful little bodies of water which are found here and there in Northern Illinois and Wisconsin—known as Crystal Lake. This lake, together with a large body of the land adjacent thereto, became the property of Mr. Dole some years since, and constitutes a princely estate. Here Mr. Dole resides the greater portion of his time with his family, entertaining himself since his retirement from active business with the care of a famous herd of Jersey cattle and various other stock and farming operations and the collection of rare books, paintings and curios. His wife, a lady noted for her high character and charitable deeds was before her marriage Miss Julia Louisa Coffin, a daughter of Joseph Warren Chase Coffin, one of the earliest settlers in Chicago.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

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PROGRESSIVE DENTISTRY.

DR. JAMES E. LOW.

IF dentistry may be classed as a department of the science of medicine, the historian of the past two decades may truthfully declare that in dentistry and surgery the medical profession has chiefly made the advancement which entitles it to rank among the progressive professions. In surgery the developments of the past twenty years have amounted in effect to a revolution and as much may be said of what has been accomplished by the dental profession. Within the memory of persons not yet old, the loss of one's teeth was looked upon as one of the inevitable accompaniments of advancing years, and their early extraction and the substitution therefor of more or less clumsily constructed false teeth, as a necessity. If a tooth "ached," a dentist or doctor was called upon to extract it, and this the dentist or doctor proceeded to do with as little compunction as if teeth sprang from their sources like mushrooms and were of as little consequence. Modern dentistry has however inaugurated a new order of things; an aching tooth is now given the intelligent examination and careful treatment to which it is entitled, and extraction, like the amputation of a limb, only comes as a last resort. Pioneer dentistry was barbarous in its methods and bungling in its practices. Modern dentistry is skillful, inventive, intelligent, and scientific. The successful dentist of to-day must be something more than a clever mechanic. His is a specialty in the field of medicine and he must be more or less familiar with the science as a whole. Improved methods of treatment, like the improved methods of surgery have been evolved by patient study, research and investigation, and the profession has been elevated to its present high plane through the efforts of a limited number of dentists whose progressive natures would not allow them to follow contentedly in the footsteps of others.

One of the most noted of the American dentists whose discoveries and inventions have contributed to the present high standing of the profession in this country, is Dr. James E. Low, who for more than twenty-five years past has practiced in Chicago.

Born in Otsego county, New York, in 1837 Dr. Low did not have in early life those advantages which rendered his entrée into professional life a matter of easy accomplishment. His father Rinald Low, a worthy man although of limited means, died when the son was but six years of age and as soon as he was old enough to engage in any kind of remunerative employment he found it necessary to contribute his share to the support of the family. Under such circumstances only those who have had similar experiences can understand how difficult he found it to acquire an education which would fit him for professional life. Nature had endowed him however, with a fine mind and with that indomitable energy and perse-

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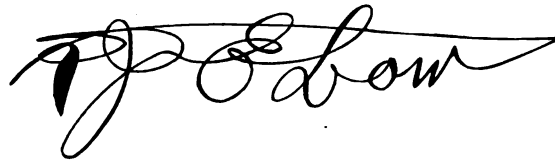

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verance which triumph over all obstacles and by dint of persistent efforts he managed to complete a course of study at the famous Cooperstown Academy. In 1857 he began the study of medicine and dentistry. To this work he devoted himself with a thoroughness which has always been one of his distinguishing characteristics taking up in connection therewith such other scientific studies as were likely to be incidentally advantageous.

In 1865, splendidly equipped for the practice of dentistry, he came to Chicago, then just entering upon its era of phenomenal prosperity, and in a comparatively short time had built up a large practice. He became a member of the Chicago Dental Society, of the Illinois State Dental Society and of the American Dental Society, in all ot which associations he took rank among the advanced thinkers and was recognized as a practitioner of the most progressive type.

He first turned his attention to the improvement of methods of treating and restoring broken and decayed teeth, and being of an inventive turn of mind he has perfected many devices of great value to the profession, and has become specially noted as the inventor of the "no plate" method of supplying false teeth, known as bridge work. In fact, his methods of restoring partial loss of teeth, either by crowning or bridge work, has caused a revolution in dentistry.

Differing with some of the members of his profession as to the propriety of protecting his inventions, the fruits of years of study and labor, by letters patent, he withdrew some years since from the various dental associations with which he had been connected. For the purpose of extending his system of practice and the use of his inventions, Dr. Low has divided his time between his large practice in Chicago and giving clinics at his own office and in various parts of the United States, for the instruction of members of the profession who desired to adopt and familiarize themselves with his methods, and the highest tributes have been paid to his genius as an inventor and his skill as an operator in the field of dentistry

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

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INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE.

THE PRUDENTIAL COMPANY OF NEWARK.

AN account of Newark and her prominent men would not seem complete without reference to her great insurance enterprises, and one in particular, which has no counterpart elsewhere in the entire country.

The city of Newark ranks as the fourth among cities of the United States as a centre of the insurance business, those ranking above it being New York, Hartford and Philadelphia, while Boston comes after Newark in the fifth place. The enormous business done by a single company, the Prudential Insurance company of America, is the great factor which brings up the remarkable average of this city.

The Prudential Company, organized through the efforts of its present President, Mr. John F. Dryden, in October, 1875, was the first to introduce the English system of industrial insurance into this country. This system has been in operation in England for forty years, its greatest representative being the Prudential Insurance company of England, which makes the astonishing boast of insuring one-sixth of the entire population of Great Britain. While the Prudential of Newark cannot of course show figures in the same proportion to the population of this country, yet at the end of forty years, if its rate of growth should continue in anything like the same ratio as during the eighteen years of its past history, it would certainly accomplish a similar result—have upon its books as insured at least one-sixth of the entire population of the United States. This company today insures one-half of the entire population of the City of Newark, men, women and children, issuing for this purpose something more than 100,000 policies. For the entire country, for the year 1892, more than 1,650,000 policies were in force.

Such figures appear absolutely incredible at first thought, but are plausible enough when we come to understand the nature of industrial insurance. Its system of conducting its business is precisely the same as that of all old time life insurance companies. It maintains all the conservative traditions. "It complies with the same laws; it is subject to the same restrictions and pays taxes in the same way. It invests its assets in the same kind of securities and determines its liabilities on the same basis and by the same rules."

Nevertheless it differs materially in this respect, that it places life insurance within the reach of the humblest day laborer in the land. Ordinary companies do not issue a policy for less than $1,000; the Prudential issues policies for as little as $10. Ordinary companies collect their yearly premiums in two or three payments of considerable amounts each; the Prudential collects weekly in amounts so small that the poorest man does not feel it. Ordinary companies accept only men as risks, or charge special rates for women; the Prudential not only receives women on the same basis

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BUILDING OF PRUDENTIAL INSURANCE COMPANY.

BROAD ST., NEWARK.

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as men, but also babies and children. Of course the policies issued on little children are small, offering no incentive for infanticide. The weekly premiums on such policies may be either 3 cents, 5 cents or 10 cents, the benefits being in proportion. Policies of this kind, as also many of those taken out by adults, are merely to insure burial expenses, etc., in case of death.

In 1892 the Prudential Company planted a mile stone by the erection of its new home; a magnificent edifice which is not approached for size, beauty or elegance of appointment and decoration by any other structure in the entire city of Newark. Indeed the Prudential Building will take rank with the very finest business structures to be found anywhere in the country. An accompanying illustration gives some idea of its exterior proportions.

It was designed by Mr. George B. Post, the well-known architect, who has been the designer of a goodly proportion of the greater buildings of modern New York City. But notwithstanding his many great achievements, both from the standpoint of huge dimensions and artistic design, the Prudential Building has been generally pronounced his most magnificent piece of work. The edifice is of stone, an Oolitic limestone, of a beautiful gray color, from the quarries of Indiana, being used. The general style is Romanesque. The building contains ten full stories. Its height from curb to the roof peaks being 215 feet. The interior is splendidly appointed with roomy corridors and great wide stair-ways, while the various stories display a great variety in finish, several of the handsomest marbles being employed, with encaustic tiles, and a hard wood cabinet finish in cherry, Indiana quartered oak, selected ash and dark Mexican mahogany.

The building is a fitting monument to one of the greatest and most significant successes in the history of life insurance in America—the first to offer insurance to the masses.

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The Journal of a Colonial Soldier.[1]

We present below a copy of a diary of the expedition of General Amherst against Crown Point and Ticonderoga in 1759, kept by John Hurlbut, the uncle of the George Hurlbut who distinguished himself in the action at Tarrytown, an account of which was given in the Magazine of American History of November, 1890. The original is the property of Mr. Barbour's mother.

THE GIRNAL OF JOHN HURLBUT, JR.

Hartford, May, 9th — Then I marched from there to Albany, where we encamped.

Albany, May, 20th 1759—Then we encamped there.

May, 29th—Then was old haince (?) shot to death at Albany, 1759.

June, 14th, 1759—Then we encamped there.

June 17th a flag of truce came in there at half way brook between Fort Edward and the Lake.

Half way Brook, June 26—We have built a small picket fort here.

June 30th, 1759—There was a frost here and as cold as at Indian harvest time, and there was two men came in that has been prisoners amongst the indians. One taken in 1756 and other 1758 and they were 27 days passage.

July 2nd, 1759—There was 7 guard(?)men killed at the lake and 5 taken prisoners by the indians and 3 wounded.

July 3d—a cannon went from Ft. Edward to the lake.

July 14th—Then we marched to the lake and encamped there.

July 16th—Captain Shelding came in at the lake with his company of new recruits.

July 17th, 1759—A flag of truce came in at Lake George.

July 21st, 1759—Lake George—We embarked and July 22 we land without resistance and July 23 we marched up to tiantarog write into their intrenchments.

July 27th we are making a fasen battery on side of brestwork and droughing up the cannon and mortar pieces—July 27 about midnight the French march out of fort and our men march in. The French set the fort on fire when they marched outside and destroyed all they could. We never fired one gun but they fired cannon and flung bums. When the French marched from the fort, Rogers fell upon and killed a great many of them and took a hundred of them. Cabbage is very plenty and all sorts

[1] Communicated by George Hurlbut Barbour, Allegheny, Pa.

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of greens which they got in the French garden. They had a fine garden large anuf to give the whole army a mess. We have not lost one man nor had one man wounded in our regiment. In the whole loss of men was 16 killed, one colonel one ensign, belonging to the 17th regiment and 50 wounded in the seige of Ticontaroga. They had in the fort a fine stable of horses over the magizine which they blew up and killed about Fifty. They burnt up a great many guns and they left 16 cannons and six mortar pieces. Ticonderoga is a very strong fort, stronger than fort Edward.

July 30—Captain Shelding died at the mills at Ticonderoga.

August 1st, 1759—The French blew up Crown Point and went off.

Ticonderoga, August 3rd—There was a man hanged here for deserting.

August 4th, 1759—Our army marched up to Cown Point.

Aug. 14th—Captain Haul (?) died at Ticonderoga.

Ticonderoga, Aug. 25th—There is about 200 men to work at the fort and has been ever since we have been here.

Sept. 1, Ticonderoga—They built a sloop here in about 16 or 18 days, so that they launched her and she will carry upward of 200 ton.

Sept. 14th, 1759, Ticonderoga—They are building another sloop here. The other is almost fit to sail. The men are yet at work at the fort our regiment and Colonel Worster's all except a relief to guard.

Sept. 6, 1759—They fired the guns on board the brig twice round and the next day launched the sloop fired ten guns more on board the brig.

Oct. 10, 1759, Ticonderoga—The sloop sailed for Crown Point and went about two miles and fired two guns. She carries 16 guns.

Oct. 20—general amhars went to Sandy Creek and took one sloop and returned back to Crown Point. Then it snowed here at Ticonderoga.

Oct. 30,—Then the brig came down from Crown Point, the redow. Our men took one sloop of 8 guns and four swiffels and brought her in at Crown Point.

Ticonderoga, Nov. 2—The Boston men ris and went off from the mill. General Lyman and his regiment went down the South bay to stop them but they did not go that way. Twenty Boston went from Ft. Edward as far as Ft. Miller and four regulars brought them back again. The Redow came down from Crown Point here and took 1600 barrels of provisions and went back again.

Nov. 10,—There was 24 cannon fired here because it was the king's birthday.

Nov. 25, Ticonderoga—Then we marched over the lake and encamped there.

Dec. 2, 1759—We came into number four.

4th—We marched to Major Bellowses.

5th—to Talos at the river.

6th—to Montag."

7th—to Hadley new.

Dec. 8th, 1759—I came home from Ticonderoga.

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Personal Reminiscences of John Brown's Raid [1]

Some time in the early summer of 1858 I was introduced to Mr. John Brown, of Harper's Ferry fame, by my then neighbor Mrs. Ritner, who at that time was keeping a very respectable boarding-honse only a few rods from my house at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. I confess I was much pleased and impressed with his intelligent and manly bearing. I knew nothing of his history and antecedents, nor did I ever afterwards learn anything thereof. I met him almost daily during the summer and fall of 1858, and frequently had brief conversations with him. He was exceedingly reticent, talking little on any subject, particularly politics and religion. Indeed, he scarcely ever did more than inquire about our health, or speak about the state of the weather, and would pass on where he was wont to go.

He and other men of his party, during the fall of 1858 and winter of 1859, stopped much of their time with Mrs. Ritner, and all paid their board, as they left from time to time, in gold. This I know to be true, from the fact that Mrs. Ritner, with whom my family and myself were very intimate, told me so, and often showed us the money, I suppose because at that time gold was not often seen or handled by any one in that community.

In the summer of 1858 I saw in the warehouse of Messrs. Oaks & Caufman a very large number of what I supposed to be handles of some kind of a hoe, but upon inquiry was informed they were handles upon which to fasten spears, which I was shown there in boxes in said warehouse. As reported to me, they were for some such purpose as getting out iron ore from quite a large tract of land near Harper's Ferry in the state of Maryland, which Mr. Brown was said to have purchased or leased. The handles and spears were removed by wagon from the warehouse in the winter of 1859.

Although Mr. Brown, Captain Cook, and others of the party often spent several days at a time at Mrs. Ritner's during the winter of 1859, no one knew or ever suspected the purposes of Brown and his associates, and when the raid on Harper's Ferry was flashed over the wires, no people were more astounded at the boldness and heroism of said party, than were the entire community in and about Chambersburg.

Immediately after the attack on Harper's Ferry, Captain Cook and others of the party took to the mountains north of it, Harper's known as the Blue Ridge. They traveled on foot, and soon came to be in want of food. When about thirty-five or forty miles from the Ferry, Captain Cook volunteered to go down off the mountain to procure food, and while on his way met a man by the name of Fitzhugh, who, while he was a clerk at the Mont Alto iron works was known to be engaged in trying to catch runaway colored men for the reward that was put on them. He professed great friendship for the captain, and assured him that he would have no difficulty in procuring all the food he desired at Funkstown, a small village at the foot of the mountain, near Mont Alto furnace. He then

[1] Contributed by Colonel F. S. Stumbaugh, Topeka, Kansas.

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rode off, while Captain Cook wended his way down the mountain and stopped at the first house he came to in said village. As he was getting the food there, Mr. Fitzhugh, and one Dan Logan, a friend of Fitzhugh's suddenly appeared, and while still professing friendship, drew their pistols and then and there arrested Cook. They hurried him off to Chambersburg, arrived there after dark, and took him before Samuel Reisher, then a justice of the peace. The 'squire sent for Colonel A. K. McClure and myself to conduct the examination, Colonel Mc Clure for the the defendant and I for the commonwealth. We both repaired to the court, and there found Captain Cook and his accusers. The examination or preliminary hearing was very brief, for the reason that Captain Cook (than whom I never beheld a braver or more noble appearing man) pulled out of his pocket and exhibited to the court his commission from John Brown, appointing him, Cook, a major-general; and of course Cook was bound over to the Quarter Sessions Court to answer the charge of being an insurrectionist.

Colonel McClure, having learned from Captain Cook that he, Cook, was a brother-in-law of Governor Willard, of Indiana, he telegraphed for him to come on at once. Governor Willard desired the Hon. Thomas Hendricks to accompany him, and this delayed them one day. When they came it was too late, for on that very day parties from Virginia had come over and procured a writ of habeas corpus from Francis Kimmel, then judge of the courts of Franklin county. After a brief hearing, the judge (who was pro-slavery democrat) turned Cook over to the Virginians, and they hurried him off to Charlestown, where Cook, with Brown and others of the party, were afterwards executed. Had Governor Willard come as we confidently expected, Captain Cook would have been taken out of jail and sent North out of the reach of his pursuers, for I know all the arrangements were made for that purpose by Mrs. McClure (as noble a lady as ever lived).

A few days after Captain Cook was taken away, as I went to my home for dinner, I noticed a great crowd of men in front of the house of Mrs. Ritner. I walked over to inquire the cause, when I found a large number of men with pistols and knives, very much excited, and was informed by them that some of the John Brown party were in that house, and they threatened to tear the house down unless they came out. I at once mounted the steps of the porch in front of the house and appealed to the crowd not to disturb or frighten Mrs. Ritner and her children, and to let the law take its course. But the crowd cried the more loudly, "Bring them out!" I then sought Mr. Michael Houser, the chief of police, and agreed with him that the crowd should select out three of their number, with whom I would go and search the house. When this announcement of our agreement was made, it seemed to satisfy the mob, and the chief of police with two others were selected. I obtained the key to a back door from Mrs. Ritner, and we entered the house and searched it from cellar to garret but found no one. The chief of police

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then informed the crowd of the result of the search, and the crowd slowly dispersed and left for their homes.

I was perhaps the only one in the neighborhood who knew that there was a cave leading out of the east side of the cellar, the door of which happened to be shut out from view while the search was being made, by empty boxes piled up against said door. It may not be amiss for me to say that there were two men in the cave while the search was made, who in the night following the search were got out of the cave and sent North, and their escape was made secure, by whom I need not say. On July 30, 1864, McCauslin, with about four thousand men of the Confederate army, under orders from General Early, entered the town of Chambersburg, plundered the people and burned the greater portion of the place, thereby destroying between four and five millions of property, for no other reason than that John Brown had made his headquarters there, while making ready for his attack on Harper's Ferry.

* * *

Experience on a Slave-ship in 1698.

The John Cruger, whose interesting account of an incident while he was still a mere youth is given below was mayor of New York at the time when Gov. Clinton's administration began and for the five successive years ending with 1744. He came over from England at an early age; in 1698, he was engaged as supercargo of a slave-ship called the Prophet Daniel, a name which ought to have covered a better business. After this somewhat exciting and adventurous cruise Mr. Cruger settled down to more respectable enterprises in trade, although his connection with the slave-trade was not a reproach to him in those days. He became a very prosperous merchant, his connections being especially with the city of Bristol in England. His public life began as alderman for the Dock Ward in 1712, and he served for twenty-two years in succession. Soon after he ceased to be mayor he died, leaving several sons, all established in prosperous business. His namesake, as we shall see, became mayor a few years later. Mr. Cruger lived in Broad street, and his house was notable for its elegance. This account is as follows:

"New York, Friday, 15th July, 1698, we weighed anchor bound for the island of Don Mascowrena; 3d October, found ourselves under the island of St. Thomas, went in to water and clean the ship; 4th October, Captain Appel came on board and told me he would not go on board again before some of the people were out of the ship, and that I must find some way to pay their wages, so that I was forced to sell some rigging for said use, before Captain Appel would come on board; he left one man at said place, called Whiter, a very troublesome fellow; 7th October, sailed from St. Thomas; 20th February, 1699, Captain and Master judged themselves to leeward of the island Don Mascowrena; Sunday 13th July, we arrived at Mattatana, (whither we had been compelled to turn our course,) and I went on shore to trade for negroes, but the harbor proving bad we were forced to remove from that place—I having purchased 50 slaves at St. Mattatana; 24th August, arrived at Fort Dolphin; 27th do., I acquainted Mr. Abraham Samuel, the king of that place, of my arrival, and came with him to a trade; 12th September, I went with Mr. Samuel twenty-five miles up in the country, and on the 14th in the morning, I got the miserable news that our ship was taken by a vessel that came into the harbor the night before. Where-

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upon I made all the haste down I could, when we got some of the subjects of Mr. Samuel to assist us, and we fired upon said pirate for two days, but could do no good. Then I hired two men to swim off in the night to cut their cables, but Mr. Samuel charged them not to meddle with them, (as I was informed, said Samuel having got a letter from on board the said pirates, in which I suppose they made great promises, so that he forbid us upon our lives not to meddle with any of said pirates). When said ship came in at an anchor they desired our boat to give them a cast on shore, they having lost their boats, and pretended to be a merchant ship, and had about 50 negroes on board. At night, said Captain of said ship desired that our boat might give him a cast on board of his ship, which was done, and coming on board he desired the men to drink with him, and when said men were going on board of our ship again they stopped them by violence, and at about 9 at night, they manned the boat and took our ship, and presently carried away all the money that was on board, rigging, and other things that they had occasion for, and then gave the ship and negroes, and other things that were on board to said Mr. Samuel. The Captain's name of the pirate was Evan Jones; Robert Moore, master; John Dodde, quarter master; John Spratt, boatswain; Thomas Cullins, Robin Hunt, from Westchester, New York, and others. Mr. Abraham Samuel took likewise away from me 22 casks of powder and 49 small arms, likewise all the sails belonging to the Prophet which were on shore, and then sold the ship again to Isaac Ruff, Thomas Welles Edmd. Conklin and Edward Woodman, as it was reported, for 1,400 pieces of eight. The purchasers designed to go from Fort Dolphin to the island of Don Mascowrena, and thence to Mattatana, upon Madagascar, and so for America.

"Captain Henry Appel, Jacobus Meener and Isaac Sommers went along with them; some days after their arrival at Fort Dolphin a small pinke, called the Vine, Thomas Warrent, master, from London, which took in slaves from said place, and bound for Barbadoes, in which I took my passage, and was forced to pay for the same 66 pieces of eight and two slaves.

"Saturday, 18th November, 1699, I departed from Fort Dolphin with four of the people more that belonged to the ship Prophet Daniel, in the aforesaid pinke Vine, for Barbadoes, leaving on shore, of the ship's company, only a mulatto boy, called Gabriel; 22d December, 1699, arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, where the vessel took in water and provisions and departed 16th January, 1700; February 2d, arrived at St. Helena and departed 8th do.; 17th February, arrived at the island of Ascension, got turtle and fish and departed 18th do.; 24th March, arrived at Barbadoes; 17th April, 1700 departed from Barbadoes in the pinke Blossom, Robert Darkins, commander, bound for New York; 11th May, 1700, I arrived at New York, and because I may not be censured an ill man, and that it may be thought that I have saved anything that belongs to the owners of said ship, I do declare that I have not, directly nor indirectly, saved any thing that belongs to them, nor wronged them of the value of a farthing, but contrary I have done all possible to serve their interest that I could.

"JOHN CRUGER."

HISTORICAL NOTES.

John Buck, the chief Councilor of the Six Nations, the official keeper of the wampum records of the league, and the head firekeeper of the Onondaga tribe, who recently died,—was an Indian as greatly beloved by his followers as was Brant by the Mohawks and Red Jacket by the Senecas. In his "Book of Rites" Horatio Hale says that Buck was virtually "the

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Iroquois Premier," made so by "his rank, his character, and his eloquence." In the treaty of peace, after the Revolutionary war, Great Britain made no provision for her Iroquois allies; they were left to the mercy of the young republic, which, under the laws of war, could have seized and held the Indian lands. The United States, however, admitted Indian ownership and made treaties with the Six Nations. Great Britain offered to Brant and other chiefs, however, a tract of land on the Grand River in Canada, and many of the Mohawks and scattering bands of other tribes moved and settled there. The total number of Iroquois in Canada at the last enumeration was eight thousand four hundred and eighty-three, and in New York five thousand two hundred and thirty-nine. While the Iroquois who remained in the latter state have steadily advanced in the art of civilization and have grown more and more like the whites, those of the great league that settled in Canada have changed but little, prefering to live as their ancestors lived. To this day the old constitution of the league, conceived by Hiawatha, is upheld, though in some slight degree it has been modified. John Buck clung closer, perhaps, than any chief to the ways of his fathers. In the council he bore the title of Skanawati (Beyond the Swamp), which had been hereditary in his family for many generations. For at least four generations his family had been intrusted with the wampum records of the Six Nations, or at least that portion of them which the Iroquois carried to Canada. Skanawati was about seventy-five years of age at the time of his death. He was a pagan all his life, and a firm believer in the virtues of the incantations of the medicine men. He was, indeed, a medicine man himself, and understood the simple methods of Indian medicine and surgery. He was not only wise, honest, and true, and the possessor of a character that made him the idol of his people, but he was a man of extraordinary memory and unusual intelligence. To those, like Horatio Hale, who were studying Huron Iroquois traditions, religion, and language, he rendered assistance that was simply invaluable.

* * *

An historical paper was recently read at North Dorchester, Mass., by Mr. D. B. Mendum whose object was to induce the town to mark with a suitable monument the site of the first Town Meeting held in the world. This typical political assembly of the early Puritans, where the elements that went to make our nationality were crystallized, had, according to the interesting account of Mr. Mendum, its first being in the old meeting house, which was also town house and fort, in 1630—Mr. Mendum said in part:

The Dorchester congregation held their first services in June of that year. The original building was of course of the primitive construction of logs. It had a thatched roof and was surrounded with palisades.

Guns were mounted on the roof, and a sentinel kept on guard, so that it served as a place of refuge and defence against the Indians. The first day of the week the colony held its meetings as a church, the second day of the week as a town. This Dorchester town meeting, was without doubt, the first in America and was

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the model of all the town meetings in New England and the unique political gem of our American free commonwealths.

"At the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the founding of the First Congregationalist Church, now on Meeting House Hill, Rev. Edward Everett Hale said that a memorial stone or tablet should be placed at the corner of Pleasant and Cottage streets to mark the spot where was held the first town meeting in America. More than twelve years have passed and no movement has as yet been made to carry out the eminent preacher's wise suggestion.

"I now wish to make a motion that a committee be appointed by this association whose business shall be to endeavor to carry forward this project. It is to be hoped that the city can be prevailed upon, before it is too late and the ground is otherwise occupied, to place a monument on this sacred spot, however simple it may be, even though there be, as Dr. Hale says, only room on it for the words: 'Town Meeting, 1630.'

"To the colonists who left Plymouth, Eng., for this coast, in the "Mary and John" on March 20, 1630, belongs the distinguished honor of being the first to become an embodied church before leaving their English homes, and for many years after their settlement here they took precedence over the other Bay colonies at all civil and military assembleges.

"It was after a passage of 70 days, during which the word of God was preached and expounded daily, that their ship arrived off Nantasket Point (now Hull), on the 29th day of May. The captain had agreed to land the colonists on the banks of the Charles river, but Mr. Clapp says that 'he cruelly and perfidously broke his bargain and put them ashore to shift for themselves, without shelter and almost without food.' They procured, however, a boat of an Indian trader, in which ten of their number picked their way among the islands, finally landing at what is now Watertown. They built a hut 'intending,' as they expressed it, 'to set down there.'

"But our friends at Hull were in the mean time not idle. They diligently explored the coast till they arrived at the confines of the dominions now so happily under the rule of the North Dorchester Improvement Association and being charmed with the prospect, both present and future, and finding pasturage for their starving cattle, they concluded to remain here and settle.

"As soon as possible after providing shelter for their families, they proceeded to build a meeting house on Allen's plain, now known as the Baker lot, at the corner opposite this hall. It was a fort and town house as well as a place for religious worship. The settlers assembled here every Monday morning at beat of drum to learn the weekly programme and consult as to any projected work. Selectmen were chosen for the year, and such rules or orders as they thought proper to adopt were submitted to the votes of all present at the regular monthly meeting, the 12 selectmen voting with the others. Whatever had the approval of the majority of votes at this meeting had the force of law. An adverse vote became a veto. This homely log house held their civil and religious meetings for 15 years.

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Prudential Insurance Company

OF AMERICA

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Its industrial policies range all the way from Ten to a Thousand Dollars. . . . . .

The premiums upon these are collected weekly and range from five cents a week upwards. . . . . .

It issues various forms of life and endowment policies, which contain features that make them attractive for different classes of insurers.

It pays all claims within twenty-four hours after proof of death has reached the Home Office. . . . . .

It has issued over six million policies. . . . . .

It has paid in death claims over twelve millions of dollars. . .

BE PRUDENT!

INSURE IN THE PRUDENTAL.

(SEE NEXT PAGE)

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In its Ordinary Branch this company issues policies ranging from One Thousand to Twenty-five Thousand Dollars. They embody advantages which appeal to the different requirements of the numerous classes of applicants, many of which are not offered by other companies.

They are:

WHOLE LIFE POLICIES, which provide for the payment of their face value with additions at death, the premiums upon which are payable as long as the policy remains in force, or may be limited to ten, fifteen, or twenty years.

ENDOWMENT POLICIES, the sum named in the policy being paid to the insured with profits, in case he or she lives to the end of the period for which the policy is taken out; or, in the event of previous death, payment is made to the beneficiary.

LIMITED PAYMENT ENDOWMENT POLICIES, in which the payment of premiums is limited to a number of years less that the endowment period.

Cash loans are granted on any of the above forms of policies.

CHILD'S ENDOWMENT POLICIES, which provide a fund for the education of a child or a capital with which he may enter business on reaching the age of eighteen, twenty-one, or twenty-five. In event of death of child before maturity of policy, all premiums paid to the company are returned to the parent, with or without interest according to the form of contract.

BUILDING LOAN POLICIES, issued at a low rate of premium for the amount borrowed from the association. Each year policy is reduced by the amount paid on the loan. In the event of death, the indebtedness to the association is paid.

ANNUITIES, OR INCOME POLICIES provide a means for securing an annual income during the lifetime of the person insured.

The Prudential has Branch Offices in all the principal States in the North and Northwest, from which information in regard to either the Industrial or Ordinary Policies may be secured, or from the Home Office in Newark, N. J.

JOHN F. DRYDEN, PRESIDENT.

LESLIE D. WARD, VICE-PRES'T.

EDGAR B. WARD, 2d VICE PRES'T AND COUNSEL.

FORREST F. DRYDEN, SEC'T'Y.

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1810 COLTER 1810

THE DISCOVERY OF THE YELLOWSTONE PARK

1870 LANGFORD 1870

"So far as it is now possible to gather the evidence, John Colter was the first white man to proclaim to the world the existence of this region. This man's career must have been a thrilling one. He was a member of Lewis and Clark's expedition, and returned with a companion, when done with them, to the headwaters of the Jefferson Fork of the Missouri. Surprised by the Blackfeet, his companion was killed, and he stripped naked and made to run the gauntlet. His singular escape is related in Irving's Astoria.

"It was not until 1870 and 1871 that the park country was first prominently brought to the attention of the world. Two men are, more than any others, deserving of the credit for making known the wonders of the Yellowstone Park. These men are Nathaniel P. Langford, an honored citizen of St. Paul, Minn., and the late Dr. Ferdinand V. Hayden, the well-known geologist and explorer.

"In 1871 Dr. Hayden, at that time the head of one of the United States Geological Surveys, with a large party of geologists, topographers, artists, and others, made the first extended and scientific survey of the region. Mr. Langford also accompanied Dr. Hayden. The result of Hayden's explorations, coupled with his earnest recommendation that the country be reserved for all time to come for a national park, together with the drawings and photographs given to the public, evoked an interest which has steadily increased."

A fuller narrative of this epitomized history of the Park may be found in a publication for 1893, issued by the **NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILROAD,** and finely illustrated. It deals with many other matters of a scenic nature, and otherwise, of the Northwest. This publication is called **6,000 MILES THROUGH WONDERLAND,** and you can obtain it by sending your address and 4 cents in postage stamps to

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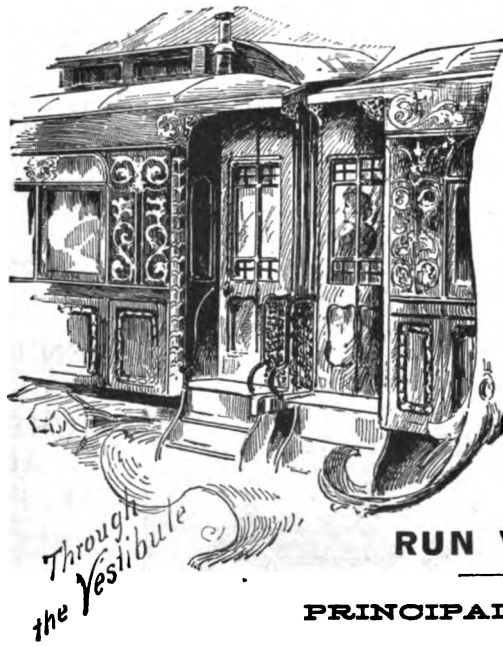

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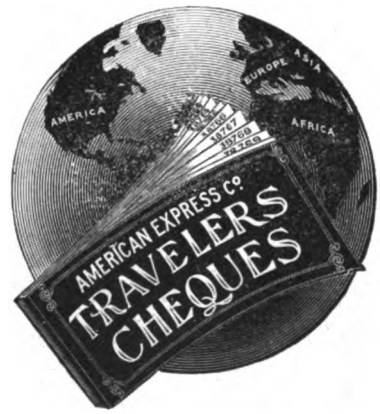

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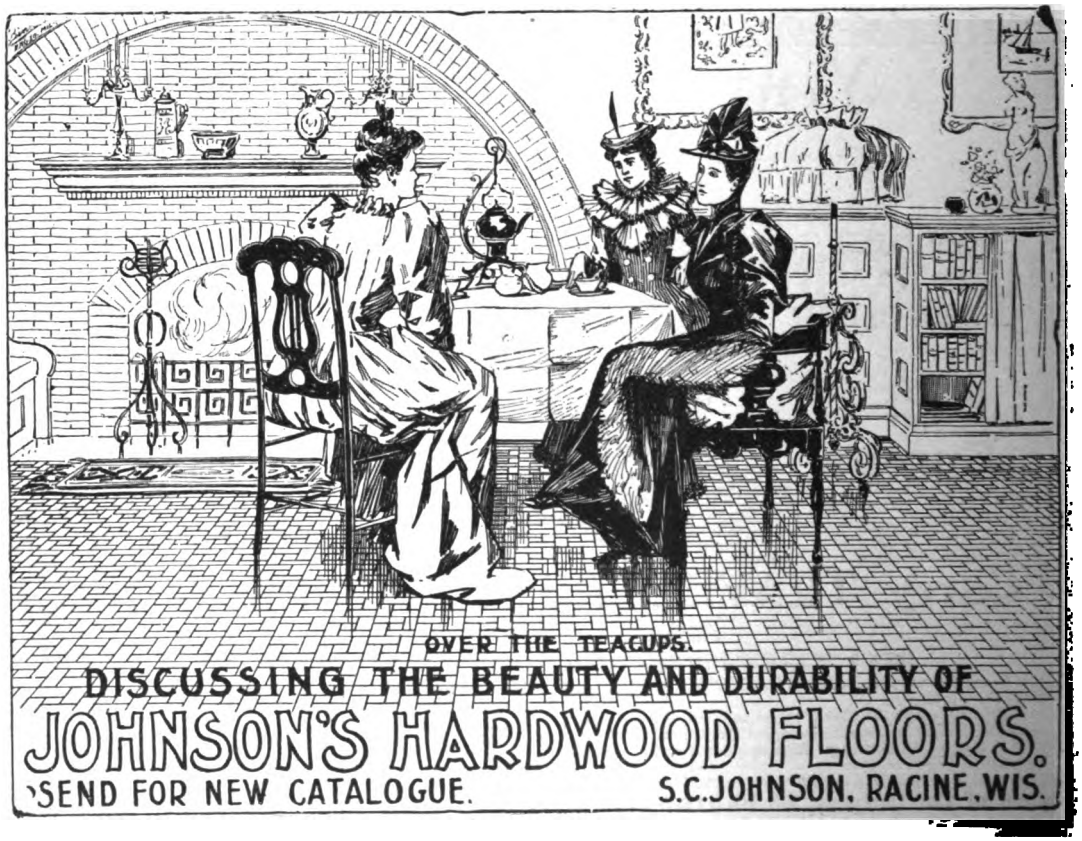

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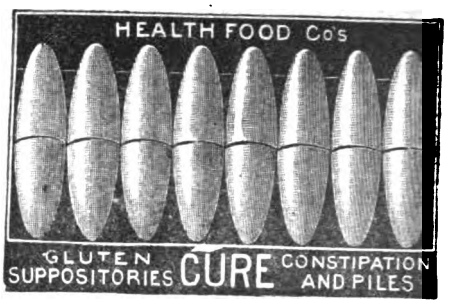

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